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MEMOIR No. III

The Ruins of Dabhoi or Darbhavati

IN
BARODA STATE

By

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PREFACE

Dabhoi is an old town and contains archæological monuments which may well be termed architectural gems of Baroda. These monuments attract visitors not only from the territories of Baroda or from the whole of India, but from the far East and the West as well. Visitors to Baroda seldom go back without seeing these magnificent structures of medieval Gujarāt. It is thus readily seen that a book giving their accurate descriptive and historical account was needed to help the visitors in understanding them. Under the liberal patronage of the late Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III, the late Dr. J. Burgess and Mr. M. Cousens of the Archæological Survey of India conjointly wrote a book entitled "*The Antiquities of Dabhoi in Gujarāt*," which supplied this want. It was published with copious illustrations as long ago as 1888. But it is an unwieldy volume and has become rare, if not inaccessible. At the same time considerable material bearing on the history of these monuments, which became available to the present writer, was left out by the said authors. A new book was consequently needed and the present work is an attempt to remove the desideratum. It may be called a revise of the former work, for it repeats a considerable portion of what has been stated by the above-mentioned writers, though with some changes. New material has also been added in large quantities. Some of these additions are very noteworthy in that they establish the date of the monuments with certainty. The identification of the names of the architects which settles their age is a happy discovery to which the present writer was led while studying the sculptures on the exterior of the Kālikā-mātā temple at the Hīrā Gate. All the same, he is highly indebted to the above named antiquarians and to the late Professor Dr. Bühler for the excellent account of the *prasaṣṭi* of Someśvara which he published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The revise was undertaken with the kind approval of Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, the Dewan of Baroda, who is ever ready to encourage the study of the history of Gujarāt in all its spheres.

Mr. J. F. Blakiston, C. I. E., lately the Director General of Archæology in India, was consulted before the work was taken on hand. With his usual cordiality he accorded his official approval allowing me to make use of the material from the above mentioned volume. Though that book was written under the patronage of the late Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III, yet it was a publication of the Government of India in the Archæological Department, and his permission in the matter was necessary and I am thankful to him for giving it.

In the completion of this work my grateful thanks are due to Mr. G. Yazdani, M. A., the Director of Archæology, Hyderabad (Deccan), Mr. S. H. Hodiwala, M. A., the retired Principal of the Bahauddin College, Junagadh, and Kazi Mahmudmiya Ahmedmiya, M. A., the Professor of Persian in

the Baroda College, for the help they have kindly given me in dealing with the Persian inscription at Dabhoi. My thanks are also due to my devoted assistant Mr. A. S. Gadre, M. A., and to Mr. V. H. Bhanot, M. A., (Panjab), B. A. Hons. (Cantab), of the Education Department, Baroda, for the assistance they have rendered in the difficult task of checking the proofs and in making valuable suggestions. To Mr. B. T. Kale, B. A., the Manager of the State Press, Baroda, and to his staff I am indebted for the care as well as promptness they have evinced in printing this Memoir.

With these few words, I place this work in the hands of scholars as well as the general public, and hope that it will serve the purpose for which it is prepared.

HIRANANDA SASTRI

Baroda, Friday, the 6th December 1940.

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The Ruins of Dabhoi or Darbhavati

Dabhoi¹ is the chief town of the *tālukā* of that name and is a junction station of the Baroda State Railways. It is situated in lat. 20° 8' N., long. 73° 28' E. and is about 18 miles to the south-east of the capital town of the State of Baroda. Chāndod, a celebrated *tirtha* or place of pilgrimage of the Hindus, lying on the eastern bank of the Narmadā, one of the seven principal sacred rivers² of India, is about ten miles to the south of it. As Dabhoi stood on the main route to this *tirtha* and was a fortified frontier city of the Central Gujarāt, it was a well-known locality during the early medieval period. Even today it is an important town of Baroda. Dayārāma, the popular Gujarātī poet, was born at Dabhoi. He is famous for his *garabīs* or devotional songs for which he is called *Bhakta-kavi*. The late Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad (III) was pleased to pay a visit to the house where he was born and name the main road going from the Railway station to the town after the poet as a mark of respect.

The Dabhoi *tālukā* is bounded on the east by the river Orsang, Sankheda Mehvas, Tilakwada and Sankheda, on the west by Karjan and Baroda, on the north by Baroda, Vaghodia and the Panchmahals and on the south by Sinor and Sankheda Mehvas. The *tālukā* of Dabhoi comprises an area of 216 Sq. miles. The maximum length from north to south is 20 miles and the width from east to west is 16 miles. It contains 96 villages, the total population being 70,531, Hindus forming the majority. The town of Dabhoi is densely populated and its population is about 18,156. It has a Vahivatdar's, a Munsiff's and a Naib-Suba's Court and other offices, a municipality, a civil hospital and a high school. The magnificent monuments which once adorned it have suffered considerably during the march of years and hostile attacks. What remains of them testifies to its past grandeur.

1. The late Dr. Führer in his work entitled "*Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions*" identified Darbhavati with Dibai, an ancient town in the Bulandshahr district of the United Provinces. Obviously this must be a different town for, as stated in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* under Dabhoi, that town was founded by Sayyid Salār Masa-ūd-Ghāzī in 1029 A. D. Further, Führer identified Dibai with the Radolph of the Greeks.

2. These are enumerated in the following verse which an orthodox Hindu will repeat at the time of his bath requesting them to come and stay in the water of his ablutions :—

गंगे च यमुने चैव गोदावरि सरस्वति ।

कावेरि नर्मदे सिन्धु जलेस्मिन् स्नानं कुरु ॥

The name Dabhoi is a derivative (*tadbhava*) of the Sanskrit term *Darbhavatī* by which the locality was originally designated. The Designation of astronomical treatise called *Romakasiddhānta* mentions Dabhoi. it under that name. This would indicate that the town was in existence about the 6th century of the Christian era, for the *Romakasiddhānta* was current at that time. *Darbhavatī* is a variant of this name. Both these forms, *Darbhavatī* and *Darbhāvātī*, occur in Jaina works. Another name by which the town was known in ancient times is *Darbhiḱāgrāma*. It occurs in the *Vikramachūṭa* which was composed by Rāmachandra-sūri in the Vikrama year 1490 (=1433 A. D.). *Darbhavatīpura* is another name of this town which is also met with in Jaina works. All these designations connect the locality with the *darbha* (or *kuśa*)¹ grass, so sacred and indispensable for the sacrificial performances of the Hindus. It would appear therefore that this locality was so designated on account of the abundance of this sacred grass in it. At present, however, it is hardly to be seen here and the appellation has become unjustifiable.

Tradition connects the name of Dabhoi and the construction of the splendid structures in it with the birth of Viśaladeva. Tradition regarding the designation. According to it King Vīradhavalā had seven wives of whom Ratnālī was his favourite although she had no issue. She was more beautiful and accomplished than all her rivals. To prevent the birth of a child to her the other wives of Vīradhavalā used all the charms they could. But when good luck favoured her and she was in the family way she left for the holy *tirtha* on the Narmadā, namely, Chāndod, out of fear of her rivals who were prepared to have recourse to any charms or magic to kill the child or prevent its birth. After a tiring journey she halted at a sacred grove and lake near Dabhoi to spend the night in the tents prepared for her rest. A recluse, who was living there at the time, blessed the queen that she would be delivered of a son and asked her to stay there till his birth. The queen obeyed the holy man's injunction and after a few days a son was born to her. The child, so goes the tradition, remained in the womb for twenty months. Hence the name of Viśaladeva (*vis, bis* = 20) was given to him. Whether this was only a palace trick, i. e. camouflage, or a fact it is useless to discuss. Vīradhavalā was very pleased at the news of the birth of a son to his best loved queen and at once declared Viśaladeva his heir. The queen was very pleased with the spot where she got the blessings of the saint and gave birth to Viśaladeva. At her request Vīradhavalā built a fortified town there and got the old lake extended to it. The architect under whose instructions the citadel was built was called Dabhane, so says the tale, and the fortified town was named after him. Out of a jealous fear that he might construct similar buildings for others also, Vīradhavalā had the unfortunate architect immured in a subterranean cell under the Kālikā-mātā temple where he remained for six years during which time his wife used to supply him with the necessities of life through an aperture which is still pointed out to visitors. The architect, the story goes

1. The name Kus'asthalī or Kus'asthala applied to Dvārakā and Kanyākubja (Kanauj) are similar instances.

further, was liberated after this period as the king again wanted his services! Such stories are told in very many cases. The episode of Nanda and Sakatāra is one of them. But they are all folk-tales of little historical value.

The earliest mention of Dabhoi (i. e. Darbhavati) is in the *Romaka-siddhānta*, as stated above. This book mentions Darbhavati along with Bhṛigukachchha which is certainly the Broach of to-day. Therefore, Dabhoi must be the modern representative of the old Darbhavati.

The next reference to this town is in the commentary on the *Chaturvīṃśatikā* which was written in Dabhoi in the Vikrama year 1211 (1154 A. D.). The concluding stanza of this work compares the town to heaven on account of the plentiful use of saffron there.

Darbhavati is also mentioned in the Jaina work called *Kāvyasikshā* by Āchārya Vinayachandra.

The next reference is in the colophon of the *Yogaśāstra-vṛtti* of Hemachandra-sūri, the well-known Jaina author of the twelfth century after Christ. The colophon is very interesting and is quoted here in *extenso*.¹

स्वस्ति श्रीविक्रमनृपतेः संवत् १२५१ वर्षे कार्तिकशुद्धि १२ शुके रेवतीनक्षत्रे सिद्धयोगे
महाराजश्रीभीमदेवविजयराजे अवनिवनिताप्रशस्तकस्तूरिकातिलकायमानलाटदेशालंकारिणि सकल-
जनमनोहारिणि विविधधार्मिकविप्राजमानद्भेवतीस्थाने श्रीमालवंशीयध्वं समानंदनेन जगदानंदनेन
निर्मलतमसम्यक्स्वधरेण ध्वं देवधरेण सकलधर्मकर्मावहितेन उ० आमङ्गलसिंहादिसुतसहितेन
निजपुत्रजगदेवधेयेनिमित्तं श्रीवटपट्टकपुरप्रसिद्धप्रबुद्धपं० केशवसुत पं० बोरसिंहस्तेनाशेषविशेष-
ज्ञानवतश्चमत्कारीवृद्धप्रतिमप्रतापश्रीजिनशासनप्रभावकश्रीकुमारपालभूपालविधायितस्य श्रीहेमचन्द्रसू-
रचितस्य श्रीयोगशास्त्रस्य वृत्तिपुस्तकं लिखितमिति ॥

The quotation shows that the work was written at Dabhoi in the Vikrama year 1251 during the prosperous rule of Bhīmadeva II by Pt. Vosari of Baroda (Vaṭapadraka). This Bhīmadeva must be identified with the homonymous young successor of Mūlarāja, who died in his boyhood after reigning for two years only. Both Bhīmadeva and Mūlarāja were born of queen Nāikidevi who, as stated in Merutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, fought the hostile Musalmān army quite successfully taking her infant son Mūlarāja in her lap. In the day of the battle the Muhammadans were defeated and compelled to retreat.² Bhīmadeva was a child when he ascended the throne, as is shown by the *Kīrtikaumudī*. Probably he was anointed as king in Samvat 1234 (= 1177 A. D.). This colophon would indicate that Bhīmadeva was reigning in the Vikrama year 1251, for it was written महाराजश्रीभीमदेवविजयराजे "during the prosperous reign of Mahārāja, the illustrious Bhīmadeva". That he was a minor in 1178 is

1. "A third Report of operations in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bombay circle" by P. Peterson, pp. 74-77.

2. The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and the *Tawārīkh-i-Sorāṭh* give an account of Nāikidevi's fighting the hosts of Shihābuddin Ghori triumphantly. The victory won by this heroic queen must have been complete, for Gujarāt remained unmolested by the Musalmāns for 100 years after this battle. That the Musalmāns were routed in this combat and that there was no further attack on Gujarāt for a long time is admitted by Musalmān writers.

shown by the *Tubaqāt-i-Nāsarī* which says that in the Hijri year 574 (=1178 A. D.) Bhīmadeva, the Rai of Nahrwāla (Aṇahilavādā), was a minor, had a large army and many elephants. The Muhammadan writers have evidently confused the events which took place in the reigns of these two minor rulers, namely, Mūlarāja and Bhīmadeva.¹

Merutuṅga says that Bhīmadeva ruled from 1234 to 1294 of the Vikrama era, i. e., for sixty years. Thus the above mentioned book was written in the seventeen. h year of his reign when he had already become a major.

The *Vastupālacharita* is an interesting work written by Jinaharshagaṇi in the Vikrama year 1365 (=1308 A. D.). In supplying an amusing account of the fight between Ghūghula, the chief of Godhrā, and Tejaḥpāla, the powerful general of Viradhavala, it gives a brief description of Darbhavati or Dabhoi which might be noticed here with advantage. The book, like other works of this kind, is written in the *kāvya* style and is not free from hyperboles or poetic embellishments. In spite of the exaggerations which it contains the historical background of it cannot be denied. In view of this consideration I am quoting below the connected portion and giving the translation to facilitate reference. This book would show that king Viradhavala was looked down upon by Ghūghula as an effeminate person and was insulted by him with the presents of ladies' apparel², a *sāri*, collarium, etc., which in the opinion of Ghūghula suited him most. Tejaḥpāla, the talented brave general of Viradhavala, defeated the insolent robber chief of Godhrā and fully avenged his master by bringing him to Dabhoi as prisoner. The residents of Dabhoi were in constant fear of the predatory tribes who were in the habit of making raids upon them. With a view to protect the inhabitants of Dabhoi, Vastupāla the resourceful minister of Viradhavala and the brother of Tejaḥpāla, turned the town into a citadel by constructing a strong wall round it and providing it with a fortified gate on each of its four sides. He also set up the images of his ancestors, erected one hundred and seventy shrines and placed therein the statues of his mother Kumāradevī, riding an elephant with a *mālā* of silver flowers in her hand. He repaired the temple of Vaidyanātha and in front of it erected a Jaina temple before which he placed the statues of the king and the queen, of his brother Vastupāla and of himself. What has become of all these statues is not known. No trace of them is left now. The two inscriptions or *prāsaṣtis* mentioned in the *Vastupālacharita* are not to be found. To say that the *prāsaṣti* of Someśvara, which is noticed in detail below, was meant would imply that Jinaharshagaṇi could not comprehend its contents although it was only about fifty years old ! Nothing is known of the *kīrti-stambha* or the *torana* or of the *Svayambhava* well or spring mentioned in the work, either. The account as given in the book is termed दर्भावतीप्रशस्ति, i. e., the praise of Darbhavati and runs as follows:—

अथ दर्भावतीं प्रापद् विदर्भामिव ऋषिभिः।

मण्डितो मण्डलाधीनोऽबराजालमजः पुरीम् ॥ ६२ ॥

1. J. M. Campbell, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, pt. 1, pp. 195-6.

2. *Vastupālacharitam*, Jambagar edition, vv. 39-49. pp. 104 ff.

पल्लीपार्तेनुपार्तकशंकाशंकुव्यथाकुलान् ।
 तन्निवासिजनान् वीक्ष्य विस्मृतान्यप्रयोजनान् ॥ ६३ ॥
 मूलराजादिभूपालमूर्तिभिः स्फुरितोदयम् ।
 नगर्याः परितो वप्रमग्नलिहमसौ सुधीः ॥ ६४ ॥
 विधाय विविधा भंगीर्विघ्नाणं शरणं सताम् ।
 विधामायेव देवानां निरालबाध्वयायिनाम् ॥ ६५ ॥
 तिरश्चकोखिलां भीतिं भानुवद् ध्वातंसततिम् ।
 तादृशानां यतो जन्म सुखायैव तनुस्पृशाम् ॥ ६६ ॥
 चतुर्भिः कलापकम् ॥

तत्राथ चैत्य रचयांचकार प्रेखद्भवजश्रेणिविराजितम् ।
 कैलासशैलेशसमं सुवर्णकुंभांकितं पार्श्वजिनेश्वरस्य ॥ ६७ ॥
 सतोरणं पूर्वजमूर्तियुक्तं जगन्नयानेत्रसुधांजनाभम् ।
 खससचन्द्र (१७०) प्रमितैर्जिनैर्द्रुहैः परितः परितः स मंत्री ॥ ६८ ॥ युग्मम् ॥
 बलानके यत्र गजाधिरुढा कुमारदेवी सचिवेशमाता ।
 विराजते राजतपुष्पमालापानियुगादीशविभोर्दे माता ॥ ६९ ॥
 चैलुक्क्यभूभुजस्तत्र हृद्यानन्दचिकीषया ।
 सोन्यान्यपि प्रशस्तानि कीर्तिस्थानानि निममे ॥ ७० ॥

यथा:-

दर्भावतीपुरे वैद्यनाथावसथमंडपे ।
 तेजःपालो न्यधात् स्वर्णकुंभानामेकविंशतिम् ॥ ७१ ॥
 स्वेशतप्रियतमास्वकनिष्ठज्येष्ठमूर्त्तिजमूर्त्तिसनाथम् ।
 वैद्यनाथहरगर्भगृहाग्रे जैनचैत्यमकरोत्सुकृतीशः ॥ ७२ ॥
 नवस्वर्णमयांस्तत्र पवित्रान् कलशानयम् ।
 नवखंडधरोद्योतेऽकरोत् प्रद्योतनानिव ॥ ७३ ॥
 पश्चिमात्तरयोस्तत्र शालस्य द्वारयोग्यम् ।
 प्रशस्ती न्यस्तवानात्मकीर्तिर्मंगलपाठिके ॥ ७४ ॥
 स्वयंवरमहावर्षी स स्वादुजलशालिनीम् ।
 विधाय वसुधां नव्यसुधास्वादमयीं व्यधात् ॥ ७५ ॥
 उत्तरद्वारपुरतो वैद्यनाथस्य वेदमनः ।
 असूत्रयदसौ तुंगं तोरणं विशदाश्मभिः ॥ ७६ ॥
 वृषमंडपिकां द्विभूमिकां विशद्वैरश्मभिरस्य बाधवः ।
 इह कांचनकुंभशोभितां पुरतो नृपगृहस्य तेनिवान् ॥ ७७ ॥
 तथासौ निजनाथस्य कालक्षेत्रे तदाख्यया ।
 रेवोरुसंगमे वीरेश्वरदेवकुलं व्यधात् ॥ ७८ ॥
 कुंभेश्वरामिधे तीर्थे तपस्विमठपंचकम् ।
 सर्वांगधर्मसामग्रीकलितं व्यतनोदयम् ॥ ७९ ॥
 ॥ इति दर्भावतीप्रशस्तौ ॥

“Accompanied by the tributary chiefs the son of Aśvarāja arrived at the town of Darbhāvātī whose *darbha* grass was, so to say, replaced by riches. (62). The wise (king), finding the residents of the town were afflicted with the pain of the shaft of terror of the ruler of Pallī and had forgotten all other thoughts, constructed round the town a rampart which touched the sky and was made

resplendent by the statues of Mūlarāja and other rulers. It had various courses, it afforded shelter to the virtuous, (*and was meant*), so to say, for the comfort of the gods moving in the sky without a support. He thus removed every fear of the helpless travellers as the Sun removes the mass of darkness. The birth of such persons is verily for the good of humanity. Accompanied by his minister he built the temple (63-66) of the Jina-lord Pārśva, which was marked with gold pitchers, was like Kailāsa, the chief of the mountains, and looked brilliant on account of the rows of moving banners. It had *toranas* and the statues of his predecessors, was like an unguent of nectar for the eyes of the triple world and had one hundred and seventy temples of Jinas round it. The image of Kumāradevī, the mother of the chief minister, riding an elephant and holding a garland of silver flowers in the hand, shines in the porch like the mother of the first lord of the cycle i. e. Rishabhadeva. There he also constructed other good places of fame with a view to please the heart of the Chaulukya king. (70). Such as these:-In the *maṇḍapa* of the Vaidyanātha temple in the town of Darbhāvātī Tejaḥpāla placed twenty-one pitchers of gold. (71). He, who was the chief among the victorious, built a Jina temple in front of the adytum of the temple of Śiva named Vaidyanātha together with the statues of his master and of his beloved queen, (as well as) his own image and the image of his younger brother and his elders. (72). He also put nine sacred gold pitchers in the *udyotas* or sky-lights of nine partitions and they looked like illuminators. (73). In the two doors of the western and the northern verandah he placed two *praśastis* speaking of his auspicious fame. (74). Having himself made a beautiful well shining with sweet water he made the earth full of the relish of the fresh ambrosia. (75). In front of the northern gate of the abode of Vaidyanātha he erected a high *torana* of white marble. (76). Here a relative of his built of marble a small porch for the bull (*Vṛisha-maṇḍapikā*) in two storeys adorned with gold *kalaśas* in front of the palace or residence of the king. (77). He also built at the confluence of the Revā and the Ūru in the Kālakshetra the temple of Vireśvara which he so named after his liege lord the king (Viradhavala). (78). At the sacred place called Kumbheśvara he built five abodes of ascetics where a complete material for religious performances was kept. (79).

In the *praśasti* of Darbhāvātī"

The account of Dabhoi which this *praśasti* supplies would show that the rampart round the town was constructed in the time of Viradhavala. The other buildings mentioned in this panegyric are not to be found now. They could not have withstood the fury of the iconoclasts, the more so because they had so much of gold in them.

The *Sukritasāhīrtana* of Pandit Arisimha, which was probably written between the Samvat years 1278 and 1287, would show that the gold pitchers were removed from the temple of Vaidyanātha by the ruler of Mālwa, but Vastupāla, 'the minister for the house of sportiveness' (sports or revels) put them there again and they had the lustre of the sun:-

भीषेपनाथसदनात्किल मालवेशो
दर्भावतीमुवि जहार सुवर्णकुम्भान् ।
भीकेलिषेष्मसचिवस्तु स भूमिपाल-
स्तस्मिन् द्यौ दिवपतिप्रतिमत्विषस्ताम् ॥

Who this 'Mālaveśa' mentioned in this verse was is not specified but as things belonging to god Śiva are too sacred to be removed by an orthodox high caste Hindu, it would appear that he had no scruples about such considerations¹. The following verses in the *prasasti*¹ composed in the year 1287 of the Vikrama era by Narendraprabha-sūri in praise of Vastupāla would show that he was Subhataṣarmā². These verses would corroborate the statement made in the above mentioned *prasasti* of the *Vastupālacharita* :—

“ श्रीवैद्यनाथवरवेष्टमनि दर्भवत्यां
यान् दुर्मदो सुभटवर्मनूपो जहार ।
तान् बिशति द्युतिमतस्तपनीयकुम्भा-
नारोपयत् प्रमुदितो हृदि वस्तुपालः ॥ ४८ ॥
“ श्रीवीरधवलमूर्तिर्जयतलदेव्याश्च मूर्तिरसमश्रीः ।
श्रीमल्लदेवमूर्तिः स्वमूर्तिरनुजस्य मूर्तिश्च ॥ ४९ ॥
श्रीवैद्यनाथगर्भद्वारबहिर्भित्तिसंभवे निलये ।
अन्तर्भक्तिनिर्मलितकरकमलाः कारिता येन ॥ ५० ॥
(युग्मम्)

The Sanskrit poem called *Vikramacharita* was composed in Dabhoi (Darbhāvātipura) by Rānachandra-sūri in the Vikrama year 1490 (1433 A. D.). This work was published by the Baroda Government in the Education Department with a Gujarātī translation in 1957 V. S. (=1900 A. D.) and is based on the *Simhāsanaadvātrīṃśatikā* of Kshemaṅkaragaṇi.

The *Yogaśāstravivarāṇa* by Hemāchārya was copied in Dabhoi (Darbhāvāti) in the Vikrama year 1492 (1435 A. D.). This we infer from the colophon:—

संवत् १४९२ वर्षे पौष शु. २ गुरौ अष्टौह दर्भावर्यां.....

Dabhoi figures in several late Jaina works but it will not be of much use to quote or refer to them here. The famous Jaina logician Yaśovijaya-Upādhyāya, the reputed author of 1444 works, is said to have died in Dabhoi (अनशन करी स्वर्गस्थ यया) in the Samvat year 1743 (=1687 A. D.) and his *deri* or mausoleum still stands in it.

The references which have been given would show that Dabhoi was an educational centre during the late medieval period, for important books were written and copied in it. That it has all along been a prosperous or wealthy town is also shown by the authorities quoted above.

Dabhoi is mentioned in a number of inscriptions which may well be noticed here.

References in inscriptions.

1. शिवनिर्मात्य is like an oath—this is like शिवनिर्मात्य to me.
2. Pandit Lalchand Gandhi of the Oriental Research Institute, Baroda, who brought this fact to my notice is editing the *prasasti* in the *Alakhāramahodadhi-Paris'ishṭa*.

In the temple of Neminātha at Gīrnār which is ascribed to the two well-known ministers of Gujarāt, namely, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, there are six ¹ large *praśastis* all of which are dated Wednesday the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the Vikrama year 1288 (=1231 A. D.). Four of these inscriptions mention the town of Darbhāvā^ī in the following stereotyped expression calling it a chief town (प्रमुखनगर) and showing that it held an important status in Gujarāt during the 13th century :—

‘ श्रीमदणहिलपुरभृगुपुरस्तंभनपुरस्तंभतर्धिदर्भवतीधवलककप्रमुखनगरेषु ’

meaning, ‘in the important cities like the prosperous Aṇahilapura (old Patan), Bhṛigupura (Broach), Stambhanapura (Khambhāyat), Stambhatīrtha (Cambay), Darbhavati (Dabhoi), Dhavalakkaka (Dholkā).....’

The long *praśasti* by Someśvara or Someśvaradeva which is engraved on the two stone slabs (3' x 2'-10") built into the niches of the Hīrā Gate on the inner side wall must have contained a vivid description of Dabhoi. It is unfortunate that it is very badly worn out. The writing on one slab is almost wholly obliterated and no line on the other is now left entire. Vv. 80 ff. will give an idea of the structures caused to be erected in Dabhoi by Viśaladeva. The record was published in 1892 by the late Professor Dr. Bühler in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. I, pp 20 ff.) from the photographs and paper impressions supplied to him by the late Dr. Burgess. Neglect and the action of weather have caused further damage since that date. (Plate I). Owing to its historical value it might well be reproduced here for easy reference. Someśvara also wrote the *Kīrtikaumudī* in praise of his patrons. Thus some of the verses are common to both these compositions. One of the verses in the inscription is found in the Tejaḥpāla *praśasti* at Abu. The *praśasti* under notice was composed in the Vikrama year 1311 (1253 A. D.) when both Viradhavala and his Jaina minister Tejaḥpāla had passed away. It is written in Sanskrit and must have consisted of fifty-nine lines of neatly incised Nāgarī characters which closely resemble those of ancient Jaina palm-leaf manuscripts. The lower portion of the stone bearing the latter half is broken in several places owing to which circumstance lines 44-46 are practically lost and lines 47-59 are seriously injured. Each of the first fifty-two lines has lost several of its letters. It was probably written to commemorate the construction of the Vaidyanātha temple under the orders of Viśaladeva. The contents of this interesting panegyric have been summarised thus by Bühler:—

“ Turning to the details, it would seem that the first three verses contained a *maṅgala* or invocation addressed to Śiva Vaidyanātha. A fragment of verse 2 says, ‘May glorious Vaidyanātha himself with his eight bodies grant their desires to the creatures.’ In verse 4 the description of Viśaladeva’s ancestors begins; for the end of *pāda* 2 and *pādas* 3-4 speak of ‘the line of the progeny of that (*man*), the good deeds of which (*line*) (*cannot be described*) even by eloquent men.’ As the name of the first ancestor is lost, and verse

1. Gīrnār inscriptions Nos. 2121-28 as copied in the *Prācīna-Jaina-lekhasaṅgraha* by Jinavijaya, Bhavnagar, 1921. Part II.

5, too, is gone entirely, full certainty as to the point at which the genealogy begins is not obtainable. But verse six makes it probable that it included the name of the first Chaulukya of Gujarāt. For the fragments of verse six point clearly to its identity with *Kirtikaumudi*, II, 2—'Won over by the eminent qualities of this conqueror of his foes, the guardian goddess (*S'ri*) of the Gūrjara princes became of her own choice his bride; (just as the goddess (*S'ri*) became the bride of (*Vishṇu*), the foe of Bāṇa (at the churning of the ocean)'. In the *Kirtikaumudi* these lines refer to Mūlarāja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of Aṇahilvādā. I do not believe that they can refer here to any body else. For if they had been applied to Dhavala, the first member of the Vyāghrapalliya or Vāghelā branch of the Chaulukyas known to us, Someśvara would be guilty of uttering a deliberate falsehood. Dhavala was according to all accounts not even a minor chief of any consequence. The next verse 7 begins with the word *yasmin*, and hence refers likewise to Mūlarāja. Its sense seems to be that the wives of his enemies tremble or fly into the jungles, 'when he, an embodied stream of the sentiment of heroism, stands on the back of.....with the intension of fighting.' In the lost verse 8 the poet seems to have turned to the Vāghelās, and just as in the *Kirtikaumudi* to have begun with Arṇorāja. This is evident from verse 9, 'By whom, even the son of Dhavala, an imitator of Kṛṣṇa, this realm of famous Gūrjara land was made free from thorns.' Here we have a new version of *Kirtikaumudi* II, 63, 'By that good warrior who imitated Kṛṣṇa, even by the son of Dhavala, was begun the clearance of the kingdom from thorns'. The fragment of verse 10 informs us further that Arṇorāja 'slew on the battle-field Raṇasimha who resembled Rāvaṇa'—a deed which is not mentioned elsewhere. Verse 11 finally confirms the statement of *Kirtikaumudi*, II 66, according to which he himself met his death in battle. It says, 'Now when his son valiant Lavaṇaprasāda (was able to sustain) the load of Gūrjara land, he (Arṇorāja) offered, his heart being averse to the world, a battle-sacrifice at which he gave his life as fee'.

Next follows the eulogy of Lavaṇaprasāda, verses 12-24, which, besides known events, contains some new historical facts. Verse 12 declares that owing to some deeds of his, the particulars of which are lost, the kingdom of the Gūrjaras was even greater than that of Rāma.' Verse 13 mentions a fight near Vardhamāna, the modern town of Wadhwan in north-eastern Kāthiāwāḍ with some unnamed powerful foe, regarding which the chronicles are silent. Verse 14,—'By whom the chief of Nadūla was deeply wounded with his mighty sword; owing to this (severe stroke), yon kings quake even today, just as the mountains at a thunder-clap,'—is identical with *Kirtikaumudi*, II, 99, and reiterates the defeat of the Thākur of Nāndol in southeren Mārvāḍ. Verses 15-17 refer to a victory over a Muhammadan king, whose name is not given.

V. 15. How many godlike kings are there not on earth? But even all of them became troubled by the mere mention of the king of the Turushkas. When that (*Turushka* king) excessively angry, approached in order to fight, (it was Lavaṇaprasāda) who placed only.....

V. 16. By whom (*Lavaṇaprasāda*) the king of the Turushkas.....who had spattered the earth with the blood flowing from the severed heads of numerous

kings—when he came in front, with dry lips, full of doubt,—was conquered at Stambha with his arm (*strong*) like a post (*stambha*) and terrible through the sword'.

V. 17. If he (*Lavaṇaprasāda*) is a mortal, how is it that he conquered the lord of the Mlechchhas ?.

This encounter of Lavanaprasāda with a king of the Trushkas causes a difficulty, especially because Stambha is named as the place where it happened. In Lavanaprasāda's time fall three attacks of the Muhammadans on Gujarāt: (1) the unsuccessful expedition of Shahābu'd-dīn Ghori in 1178 A. D.; (2) the first expedition of Qutub'd-dīn in 1194 A. D., during which Anāhilavādā was sacked; (3) the second expedition of Qutub'd-dīn, which was at first unsuccessful, but finally led to the temporary conquest of Gujarāt and occupation of Anāhilavādā by a Muhammadan garrison. It is very probable that he fought the invaders in all three occasions. But I do not think that any of the engagements which then took place can be referred to in our passage. Both according to the accounts of the Muhammadans and according to those of the Gujarāti chronicles and bards, the decisive battles were fought in southern Rājputānā. On the other hand, Stambha, the scene of the battle mentioned in our inscription, it seems to me, can only be Stambhapura or Stambhatīrtha, the modern Khambāyat—Cambay—, which lies much farther south. For Stambha is the regular abbreviation of these two names, and no other town has hitherto become known in Gujarāt from the name of which it could be derived. If we have then to look out for some other period during which Lavanaprasāda may have gained his victory, the most probable conjecture seems to be that it happened after the occupation of Anāhilavādā in 1196. Sometime later the Muhammadans did suffer a defeat in Gujarāt, and the province shook their yoke off. The details of these events are not given either by the Muhammadan or the Hindu authors; but our passage probably contains an allusion to them, and it may be that Lavanaprasāda was the liberator of his country.

The fragments of verse 18 inform us that Lavanaprasāda 'a repository of medicine—like valour, cured (*his country...*) when the crowd of the princes of Dhārā, of the Dekhan and Maru, who resembled diseases (*attacked it*)'.

His success against the kings of Mālwa and the Dekhan are mentioned also in the *Kīrtikāumudī*, II, 74–75. As I have pointed out, the first mentioned foe is probably Subhātavarmā and the second Siṅghaṇa (1209–10 to 1247–48 A. D.) whose inscriptions record several expeditions against Gujarāt. The kings of Maru or Mārvād, who are added here, may possibly be the four princes referred to in *Kīrtikāumudī*, IV, 55–65, who attacked Gujarāt at the same time as Siṅghaṇa's army.

Verse 19 is purely laudatory: 'He (*Lavanaprasāda*) who raises his race, seems to me of greater fame than Yudhishṭhira, whose relatives were all destroyed, though their power to remove Śalya is equal'. Verse 20 seems to have been of the same import. Verse 21 refers to the erection of a temple of Kumāra near Wadhwan. 'Who (*Lavanaprasāda*) caused to be erected in the neighbourhood of

Vardhamāna, a (*temple of*) Kumāra rivalling the ocean (*in the possession of treasures*) and surpassing the moon (*in brilliancy*).’ The sense of the next three verses I am unable to make out from the scanty remnants. With verse 25 begins the praise of Vīradhava. Its complete restoration is easily possible, as it agrees literally with verse 27 of the *prasaṣti* in Tejaḥpāla’s temple at Abu. ‘From him sprang a son, who was the image of Daśaratha and Kakutstha (*spelt Kakutstha*), who swallowed like a mouthful the armies of hostile kings,— Vīradhava. When the flood of his fame spread the cleverness of faithless women — whose minds are distressed with the longing after enjoyments — in the art of approaching (*their lovers*)—was destroyed.’

Of the remaining verses referring to Vīradhava, vv. 26–51, little more than single letters or words are legible, except in verse 45, where an unsuccessful combined attack of the lord of Dhārā and of the ruler of the Dekhan is mentioned. The portion of the *prasaṣti* which celebrates Visaladeva’s great deeds and virtues, verses 52–108, is likewise in a very bad condition. The only political events traceable are fights with the kings of Mālwa and of the Dekhan (I.29, verse 58) which his grant of V. S. 1317 mentions too, and a hitherto unknown expedition on which ‘Visaladeva kept the hero’s vow on the shore of Sindhu, i. e. either of the ocean or of the Indus (I. 30, verse 59). In verse 77 and in those immediately preceding, the manner in which Visaladeva gained the throne of Gujaraṭ seems to have been described. But the name of the opponent whom he overcame has been lost. All that remains is: 77 ‘Visala (*made...undergo*) the fate of a moth in the fire of his valour’.

V. 78. Then that moon among princes, Visaladeva, after obtaining sway over the world.....

A little further on, with verse 80, begins apparently the account of Visaladeva’s building operations. We hear of the erection of one or several temples of Śiva (verses 81 and 91), of the restoration of a temple of the sun, called Mūlsthāna (verse 92), of another ‘temple which resembled a peak of the mountain of Hara,’ i. e. of Kailāsa (verse 93), and that ‘he who in form resembled Cupid renovated the *prākāra*,’ i. e. the enclosure, probably of some other temple. Verses 99–108 praise the king’s liberality. According to verse 100, he gave annually ‘a *kalpalatā* of always increasing value, the cause of the wealth of the Brāhmaṇas.’ Verse 102 says that ‘in his country the sound of the *Vedas*, uttered by untired Brāhmaṇas who were gladdened by fees given at great sacrifices, [ever] meets one’s ears.’ The other verses are of a more general import. In the concluding portion of the poem which opens with the words *itaścha* Someśvara speaks of the official and architects connected with the building of the temple, of himself, of the writer and the engraver of the *prasaṣti*.

V. 109. In the Prāgvāta race was [Sān]ga, the son of illustrious Chanda-simha, who was appointed by the king on account of his confidence (*in him*) to the post (*of guardian*) of the fort of Vaidyeṣṭri.

V. 110. What description shall (*I*) give of that minister the flood of whose pure fame filled the earth, erected by whom, the excellent line of ramparts, free from interstices, dived into the abode of the gods.

¹V. 111. There was a mason, called Sādeva, a store of all good qualities; from him sprang Vāmadeva, famous for having built the temple of the Sun, called Mūlāsthāna. As his son was born he who is called Madana, a scion of (*the race of*) Viśvakarman, the builder (*sūtradhāra*) of the wall of (*glorious*) Vaidyeśa, of the extensive temple, of the gates, of the wings and of the foundations.

V. 112. The son of Ahlādana, called Devāditya, who (*became*) the firm architect of Vaidyeṣṭri, is famous in the first rank of masons.

V. 113. Glorious Vaidyanātha, worshipful sole protector of the world, I address a prayer to thee — 'May, O God, through thy favour, that Viśaladeva, free from cares caused by foes, and united with his sons, be victorious during ten thousand *Kalpas*!'

V. 114. The chief domestic priest of the kings, born.....who is called Someśvara-deva, made this panegyric, producing the great composition in half a watch of the night.

V. 115. And the excellent Brāhmaṇa Prahlādana, the son of Śrīyāmānda (?) in the gotra of famous Nandipura wrote this panegyric,

V. 116. By skilful Padmasimha, foremost among masons, the son of the mason Sajjana was this panegyric incised.

Samvat 1311, on the 15th day of the bright half of Jyeshtha, Wednesday.
May it be well!"

The text of the *prasaṣṭi* as read by the above named scholar is reproduced below:—

Transcript

L 2

... पाद

... शु तप्राणि[ना]-

मष्टाभिस्तनुभिस्तनोत्वभि[मर्तं] श्रीवैद्य[नाथः स्वयम् ॥ २]¹⁴

... विधेर्वि[दधतु] किल के

... .. किल

3

... .. प्रसिद्धा ॥ ३

... शु

... तदपत्यपरंपरासौ ।

शक्यानि वाक्यनिपुणैरपि - रि- -

- - [म] उत्सुहदः सुकृतानि यस्याः ॥ [४]¹⁵

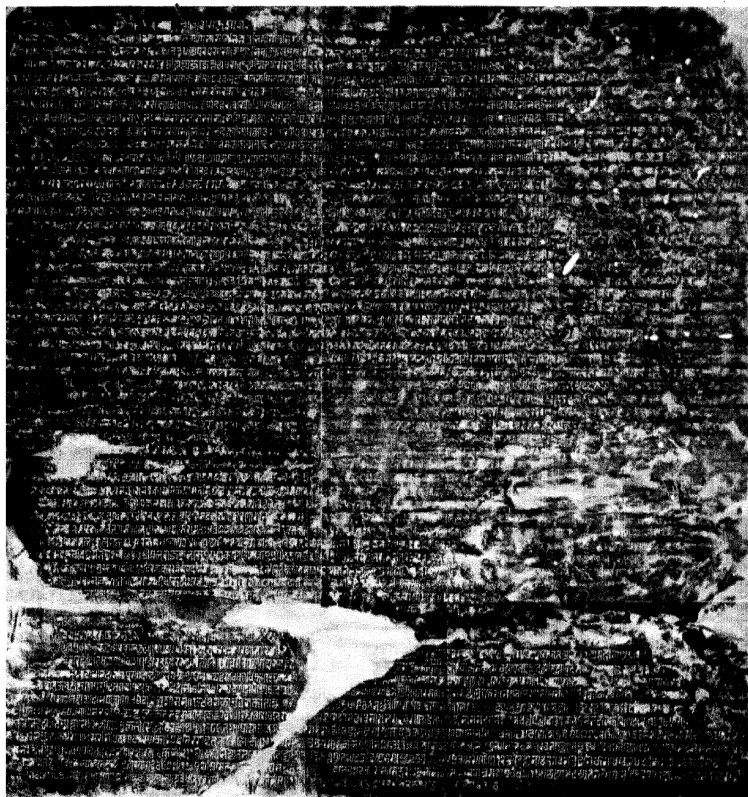
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[आद्य-]

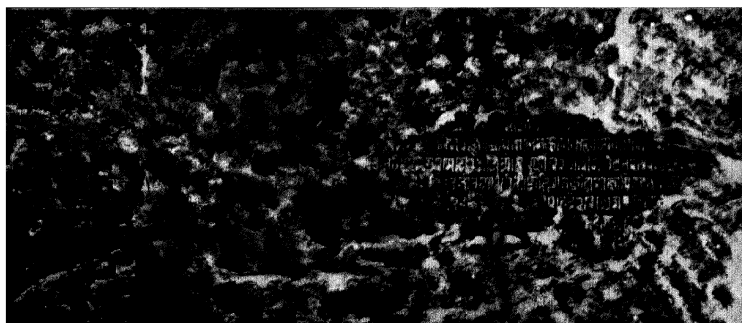
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(a)

Scale $\frac{1}{2}$



(b)

Scale $\frac{1}{2}$

Pravasti by Someśvara, dated V. S. 1311.

- L 4 जिता जितारा[तेर्गुजैर्बाण]रि[योरिब]
 गुर्जरेभर[राज्य]भीर्यस्य जते स्वयंभरा ॥ ६¹⁶
 यस्मिन् शरीरवति वीररस[प्रब]ाहे
 [म]हे[द्र]पृष्ठमधितिष्ठति युद्धयुद्धया ।
 अंतःपुराणि ~ ~ राणि क- ~ ~ ~
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ [७¹⁷

- „ 5 ... गुणरत्नराजि ... गंभीरता जगति ॥ ८¹⁸
 धवलस्य सुतेनापि येन कृष्णानुकारिणा ।
 श्रीगुर्जरधराज्यमेतन्निष्कटकीकृतं ॥ ९¹⁹
 रावणमिव रण(सि)हं संह[स्य] र(ण)ि(गणे) [1]

- „ 6 अथात्मजे गुर्जरभूमिभार-
 ~ ~ धी[रे] लवणप्र]सादे
 चकार संसारविरक्तबुद्धि-
 युद्धकर्तुं जीवितदक्षिणं स्वः ॥ ११²¹
 यस्मिन्निवस्मयनीयविक्रमगुणे क्षोणीमिमां रक्षति
 क्षीणा ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ - ।
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- „ 7 ~ ~ ~ पि ते -
 नासीद्गुर्जरराज्यमेतदधिकं श्री[राम]राज्यादपि ॥ १२²²
 दोर्हर्षपुच्छरविरोधिशिरोधिरक्तः
 भीवर्द्धमानसविधे वसुधां विलिप्य ।
 मुक्ताफलेर्दलितकुंजरकुंभमुक्ते -
 यो वद्धमानमभिमानमधि ~ ~ ~ ॥ १३²³
 [जप्ते येनासिदं डेन गाढं नडुल]नायक [:] [नि]
- „ 8 र्घतेनेव तेनामी कंपतेद्यापिभूमृतः ॥ १४²⁴
 राजानः कति नाम नामरसमाः संति क्षमायां परं
 ते सर्वेऽपि नुरुष्कराज्यक[थ]याध्यस्वस्थतां विभ्रति ।
 तस्मिन्भ्योऽनुमुपागतेऽतिक्रुपिते धत्ते ह्ययः के[व]हं
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ कतां ॥ १५
 ~ ~ ~
- „ 9 द्विरदो मदोकट ~ ~ ~ ह ~ ~ ~ जः
 कृत्सानेकनरैर्द्रमौलिविगलद्रुकाभिषेकावनिः ।
 सोऽपि प्राप्य पुरस्तुनृपकनृपतिः शुष्काधरः शंकया
 सार्कं येन कृपाणमीषणमुजस्तमेन [स्ते]मे जि[त]तः ॥ १६
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ पृथक् ~ ~

- 16 Metre, Anushtubh.
 17 Metre, Vasantatilakā.
 18 Metre, Āryā (?)
 19 Metre, Anushtubh.
 20 Metre, Āryā.
 4

- 21 Metre, Upajāti.
 22 Metre, Sārdūlavikrīḍita
 23 Metre, Vasantatilakā.
 24 Metre, Anushtubh.

L 10

वशामासीत्तदित्यं कथं
मर्त्यलोन्मनुजैरजेयमज[यान् स्लेच्छाधिनार्यं कथं ॥ १७
धाराधीभरदक्षिणेभरमरुक्षोणीभराणां गणे
रोगाणामि[व] संनिष ल-----
विक्रतौषध[नि] -

, 11

धिष्णके विक्रिसामसौ
ज्वर-----कथन्वेतरिः ॥ १८²⁵
तुल्येपि शल्योद्धरणप्रभावे
युधिष्ठिराध्वस्तसमस्तबधोः ।
समुन्नयमेव कुलं स्वकीय-
मुत्कृष्टकीर्तिः प्रतिभासते मे ॥ १९²⁶
हे वि-----

, 12

पाणि-----पार्थस्य या
धारिर्त्रं च तदत्र याद[व]पतेऽप्यौलुक्कयर्चद्र-----॥ २०²⁷
सविधे वर्यमान[स्य] स्पर्धमानं पयोधिना ।
अधःकृतसुधासारं यः कुमारमकारयत् ॥ २१²⁸
... ..
... ..

, 13

राजस्य ॥ २२
- - - परि-----पवित्रमतेऽर्जनस्य
- - - धर्मयिजनजं-----
- - - - -
- - - - - प्रयत्नः ॥ २३²⁹
नर्मवातटनिविष्टविष्टपा
नंदिनं-----[।]
- - - - - ॥ २४³⁰
सु[त -]

14

[स्तस्यादासी]द्दशरथककुस्थप्रतिकृतिः
[प्र]तिष्ठापालानां कबलितबलो वीरधवलः
यशःपूरे यस्य [प्रसरति रतिक्लान्तमनसा -]
[मसाध्वीनां भग्नाभिसरणक]लायां कुशालता ॥ २५³¹
ते - - - किमपि
... ..
... ..
... .. ॥ [४

L 23

धारापतिर्दक्षिणा-----
-----युगप[स्स]मेतौ ।
धीरस्तयोरेष समानतर्ज

- 25 Metre of verses 15-18, Śār-
dūlavikriḍita.
26 Metre, Upajāti.
27 Metre, Śārdūlavikriḍita

- 28 Metre, Anuṣṭubh.
29 Metre, Vasantatilakā.
30 Metre, Rathoddhātā.
31 Metre, Sikharinī.

- L 42 - - - - -
 वु - - मंथकरिपुः सुरभीकरोति ॥ ८१
 हे रत्नाकर रत्नसंपदमिनामूषैः कथि - -
 [त्वं] नीचैर्मव कांचनाचल [यथा] केनापि नालोकयसे ।
 - - ह्य्यं जगतोऽपि [निहलयितुं] - - - - -
 - - - - - [॥ ८२]³⁷
- „ 43 - - - - - ति विजंमितानि ।
 करोति व - रथिकाधिकैर्यः
 पूर्वोणि पूर्वोण्यधराधराणि ॥ ८३³⁸
 भ्रात्या यत्करवालः पी[त्वा] मार्तण्डकुमकीलालं ।
 अनुतापीव प्रतयति रिपुनृपतीनां - - - [॥ ८४]³⁹

- „ 47 त्वोक्त - स्तौत्र - दास्यायव यः शांकर कारयति
 - - - ॥ ९ [०]

- „ 48 - - - - - श्रीमूलस्थानमंदिनं ।
 - - - पुरुषां - न पुराणं पुनरुद्धृत ॥ ९ [२]⁴⁰
 हराद्रिशिखराकारं प्रासादं कारय - - -
 [॥ ९३]

- „ 49 - - - - - [१]
 • कस्य वसुधावंधुरदधार कुलद्वयं ॥ ९५
 यः प्राकारं स्मराकारः कारयामासिवाभवै ।
 ॥ ९६
 धातुक[तरुप]सिद्धिः - - - - - संधिः स्वरो वितन्य... [१]
 - - महामाष्यगुणः . [॥ ९७]
- „ 50 - - - - - धन्वंतरेर्यदि ।
 तथाप्येष विशेषैरतुलः परिकीर्यते ॥ ९८⁴¹
 नूनं दास्यति दानपुञ्जरं - - - - -
 - - - कनकाचलं तदधुना किं धाम - मो वर्य ।
 पर्व पल्लवयति यावद् - - - - -
 - - - - -
- „ 51 - - - - - चि ॥ ९९⁴²
 येन [कस्य]लतादानं निदानं विप्रसंपदां ।
 दीयते धर्मलुब्धेन प्रत्यब्दमधिकाधिकं ॥ १००⁴³
 दानानि प्रदत्तानां ।

37 Metre, Śārdūlavikriḍita.

38 Metre, Upajāti.

39 Metre, Āryā.

40 Metre of verses 92-96, Anuṣṭubh.

41 Metre, Anuṣṭubh.

42 Metre, Śārdūlavikriḍita.

43 Metre, Anuṣṭubh.

अलमस्मि नास्य यस्माद्गणयितुमेकं गुणग्रामं ॥ १०१^{११}

अन्येषां ि - - - - - - - - - - -

L 52

- - य - ।

अभांतकतुदक्षिणाप्रमुदितब्रह्मप्रयुक्तः पुन-
 र्व्यदानां ध्वनिरध्वनि भ्रवणयोरस्यैव दक्षोपवि-[॥ १०२]⁴⁵
 [कनक]वितरणप्रसिद्धिमस्य
 क्षितिरमणस्य निशाम्य लज्जमानः ।
 वलिरपि मलिनं विभर्त्ति वक्त्रं
 किमपि न ज - - - - - [॥ १०३]⁴⁶

” 53

- - - - - मे तावतीः समाः ।

तद्वात्रा येन पात्राणां लुप्तं दारिद्र्यशशासनं ॥ १०४^{४७}
 वराकानुर्वराकांतामस्तुत्यां - - - ते ।
 सुधामधतमंशु वा हिमांशु वा ह्रुवे समं ॥ १०५
 असुस्थः काकुस्थः कृतकुलहतिः कौरवपति-
 र्यथादे - - नो - - - कल भीषण - - ।

„ 54

- पतः श्वतः शमिषु पुरुषः लोपि नहुष -
 स्ततः श्लाघ्यं लोके तमहमवल्लोके नृपवर ॥ १०६^{१६}
 वरोच्चने रक्षितवत्यम्भरेऽश्वमेत्री -
 मेकत्र नागनगरं च गते द्वितीये ।
 दीनाननं भुवनमूर्ध्वमधश्च पश्य-
 दाहवासितं पुनरुदारकरणेन येन ॥ १०७^{१७}
 धर्मस्थानं विधिना विधा - - -

55

- - - तिलको यः ।

धर्मस्थानैः स्वकृतैः सुकृती लोयं खिरं जयतु ॥ १०८⁵⁰ इत्यत्र
प्राग्वाटवंशे - - - गनामा
श्रीचंडसिंहस्य सुतो बभूव ।
यः क्षोणिपालेन निजप्रतीत्या
वैद्येशितुर्मुग्धपदेऽधिपत्ते ॥ १०९⁵¹
किं वर्णनीयमधुना सखिवस्य तस्य
सत्कीर्तिः[पु]-

56

रपरिपूरितभूतलस्य ।

यत्कारितोऽङ्गमरनिर्विघ्नप्रकार-
प्रकारपद्धतिरगाहृत नाकिलोक ॥ ११०⁵²
[अ] सीत्सादेवनामा सकलगुणनिधिः सुबभूवतः ५ भू-
म्भुलस्थानाख्यमानोर्भवन्विरचनाख्यातिमृत्तुः ॥ ५ भवेदेव ।
तस्योत्पन्नस्तनजो मदनसममिधो विश्वक-

44	Metre, Āryā.	48	Metre, Śikhaṇi.
45	Metre, Śardūlavikṛīḍita.	49	Metre, Śardūlavikṛīḍita.
46	Metre, Pushpitāgrā.	50	Metre, Āryā.
47	Metre, of verses 104–105, Anuśtuh.	51	Metre, Indravajrā.
		52	Metre, Vasantatilakā.

L 57

मर्म] प्रस्तुतः

श्रीमद्देवशिवप्रविततसदनद्वाराशाखाधिकर्ता ॥ १११⁵³
 आह्लादनस्य तनयो भूतो] वैद्येशितुः स्थिरः स्थपतिः ।
 देवादित्यसमाख्यः स्थातो धुरि सूत्रधारणां ॥ ११२⁵⁴
 श्रीवैद्यनाथ भगवन् भुवनैकनाथ
 स्वामर्थये किमपि श्रेय तव प्रसादात् ।
 नि[स्य प-]

,, 58

राधिरहितः सहितश्च पुत्रैः

कल्यायुतं जयतु वीरसलदेव पयः ॥ ११३⁵⁵
 प्रशस्तिमेता[म] ~ ~ ~ ~
 संभूतभूपालपुरोहितेन्द्रः ।
 स्वकार सोमेश्वरदेवनामा
 यामार्देनिपन्नमहाप्रबंधः । ११४⁵⁶
 श्रियामंदस्य तनयः श्री नंदिपुरगो[त्र]जः ।

,, 59

प्रह्लादनोऽलिख[त्तां च] प्रशस्तिं द्विजपुंगवः ॥ ११५⁵⁷

सूत्रसज्जनपुत्रेण पद्मसिंहेन शिल्पिना ।
 सूत्रधारधुरीणेन [प्रशस्तिरुद्] कीर्यत ॥ ११६
 संवत् १३११ वर्षे ज्येष्ठशुदि १५ बुधदिने ॥ छ ॥ - ॥ - ॥
 शु[भे] भवतु ॥ छ ॥ * ॥

There is another inscription which is engraved on the white marble slabs now built into a niche on the north side of the Hīrā Gate. It is in Marathi and belongs to the reign of Maharaja Damaji Rao Gaekwad, the illustrious son of Maharaja Pilaji Rao Gaekwad. Various structures in Dabhoi, shrines and others, are detailed in it. The chief tank of the town with young damsels coming to fetch water finds a special mention. From the contents of this record it would appear that the present tomb of Māmā Ḍokri was originally a Hindu temple sacred to Siva and meant for detecting crime. Subsequently it was converted into the present tomb by the Musalmāns. The stone ring (Plate II) preserved in the compound of the tomb is still pointed out as having been used for ordeals in deciding suspected persons' guilt or innocence by subjecting them to the physical test of passing through it. An accused who could pass through the ring safely was considered to have been acquitted by divine means. The ring is so small that only a very thin person can come out of it. The smooth inner surface would give us an idea of the cases which this mute stone must have decided in olden days. The Musalmāns call it Māmā Ḍokri's stone.

Lines 49-51 would indicate that the inscription was placed on the Burhānpurā Gate but was brought to its present position when that gate became ruinous.

This inscription (Plate III) has been published with a free translation in Vol. I of the *Historical Selections from the Baroda Slate Records*. It is interesting

53 Metre Śārūlavikrīḍita.

55 Metre, Vasantatilakā,

54 Metre, Āryā.

56 Metre, Upajāti.

*Metre of the verses 115-116, Anuṣṭubh.



Māmā Ḍokri's Stone with a boy trying to crawl through the hole.

in that it gives a detailed account of the flourishing condition of Dabhoi as it stood in the first half of the eighteenth century of the Christian era. I reproduce the text and translation of it below :—

श्री

डभई येथील शिलालेख

- १ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ प्रथम नमो श्रीगजवदना ॥ सिद्धिबुद्धिच्या तुं रमणा ॥ विद्यादानारा सकल भुवना ॥ विघ्ननाशना आदि मुर्ति ॥ १ ॥
- २ जे शारदेप्रती ॥ जेणे कल्याण त्रिजगति ॥ वागवि कवित्वस्फुर्ती ॥ तव प्रसादे होतसे ॥ २ ॥ शतदा नमन गुरुवर्या ॥ प्रकाशरू-
- ३ पे तु स्वामीया ॥ ग्रंथहानी निरंतर काया ॥ खरणप्रसादे तुझेनी ॥ ३ ॥ श्री कालिका आदि अंबा ॥ मुलमाया जगदंबा ॥
- ४ प्रकाशरूपे हिरंबा ॥ मातृ जननी बिम्बाशि ॥ ४ ॥ तव खरणि तत्पर पिलाजिसुत निरंतर । दमजी प्रताप समशेर । बा-
- ५ हातुर येसे बोलति ॥ ५ ॥ महाप्रतापि धुरंधर । जगप्रसिद्ध भेष्ट वीर ॥ कलियुगामाजि समशेर । कीर्ती जाली भूमंडली ॥ ३ ॥
- ६ तयाचा दासांकित यशस्वी जाण । यमुनाजिसुत सयाजी धावकनिधान । नगर दमोवति पूर्व प्राचीन । विशालदेवे निर्भि-
- ७ लि ॥ ७ ॥ महा मुहूर्तसाधन । ज्योतिशिकणक परिपूर्ण । परचक्र पातलिया जाण । भय पावति सर्वथा ॥ ८ ॥ तुलाम्हा नित्या-
- ८ पुतिजननि । अष्ट दिशा दिक्पालगणी । दुर्गरक्षण निशिदिनि । मात्र आळे करितसे ॥ ९ ॥ पूर्वादशे ब्रह्मरुद्रयोनि ।
- ९ अद्यापि साक्ष बिम्बनयनि । अम्याय खौरकर्म ते क्षणी । दंडण करी पापिष्टा ॥ १० ॥ कलियुगामाजि माई डोकरि । अविधराजे-
- १० जालियावरि । प्रचीत देखोनी पुरी । म्हणोनि भजनी तात्काल ॥ ११ ॥ श्री देविपृष्ठी अमृतकूप ज्यावरी सूर्य निज प्रत्यक्ष ओप । श्री-
- ११ गंगोदका जो स अनुप । प्रमाव जीला जग ई ॥ १२ ॥ म्हणोनि कुंभ घेऊनि सुवासिनी । जला येती जैश्या पशिणी । द्वादशवर्षे खतुर्दश-
- १२ गुणि । पंचदशी वा पंधरा ॥ १३ ॥ शोडश संवत्सर शोडशांगना । कामरूपी जशा कामिनी । य वे ये नि भरित मदना । कटाक्षबाणे विधि-
- १३ ति ॥ १४ ॥ तयामाजि पवित्र पुरुष नारी । रक्षण करिति नानापरी । लज्जा नयनी तयांतरी । सौदामिनीचे हातसे ॥ १५ ॥ नेमुनि अग्नेदि-
- १४ बि माजि रुद्रा । फतिनाग बुकज मोठा । नाथ राजराजेश्वराचा । जिराग नित्य निदात्म स्वता ॥ १६ ॥ तवखरणगति णजनदे । तुरुक-
- १५ हाहाचाचें मेद । अहंता प्रमंत विराद । पक्षी पृक जाणती ॥ १७ ॥ दक्षण दिशेची आदिमाया । शांतिकुपे शीतल काया । शीतल नाम नांदम-

- १६ या । भक्तजनां शांतधी ॥ १८ ॥ प्राच्य दिशोमाजि एक पीर । चौत्रिया नाम उच्चार । भक्तिभाषे असुर । भजनी जाण सर्वदा ॥ १९ ॥ दुर्गामाजि पंचेश्वर-
- १७ र । पंचवक्त्र परमेश्वर । वक्रतुंड हनुमानवीर । दक्षिणदिशा रक्षिती ॥ २० ॥ तेथे दरवाजा एक । नांदोदी नाम सुविधेक । (रच)ना जुतन हाणोनि लोक ।
- १८ येउनी शोभा पाहति ॥ २१ ॥ नैऋत्य दिशोसि बुरुज । भुवनाम विशालराज । तेथुनी विक्राळ दिसे भुज । वायव्यदिशा पर्यंत ॥ २२ ॥ दशदिशांवि मांडणी । अपूर्व
- १९ मा धिति माथनि । रक्षपाल विश्वगुणी । बाघनाथ नामाधि ॥ २३ ॥ तेथे दरवाजा नियोजि निपुण । बडोदिया नामाभिधान । छेदि परचक्राचे मान । पश्चिम दुर्ग पाम-
- २० ति ॥ २४ ॥ जेथे मुखिया उग्र पीर । सैद नामाचा उच्चार । म्लेच्छ भजती तत्पर । दीप करिति घृताचे ॥ २५ ॥ वायव्य दिशा पंचयोगिनि । तेथुनि बुरुजांवि मांडणी । अ-
- २१ विधे चमत्कार देखुनी । पंच विविध बोलति ॥ २६ ॥ उत्तम दिशेचा पद्म महिमा । महाकालि प्रसिद्ध अनिमा । अहंकार रुप दे मनपि मविलंबे ॥ २७ ॥ तेथे
- २२ दरवाजा जाण णार । खंपानेरी नाम उच्चार । लावि शोभा चमत्कार । चित्रविचित्र शोभति ॥ २८ ॥ तेथे असुरी चमत्कार । नाम बाले कि शर मंदिर । तो जोर दुराज धर्म दार ॥ तेणे तेथे दर्श-
- २३ ने ॥ २९ ॥ ईशान्य दिशे शाम बुरुज । तथा रक्षण विश्वराज । ज्याचा पराक्रम महज । परदल भासे नृणवत ॥ ३० ॥ तेथे पीर दरग नाम शब्द । प्रचुर देह निर्यानंद । अपुला
- २४ जा भावं आ त द । भजति जाण सर्वदा ॥ ३१ ॥ तटाक नागेश्वर परिपूर्ण । अंतःपुरी आणिला बांधोन । गुप्तरुपे केले स्थापन । तन्निध द्रिद्रा जन्म ॥ ३२ ॥ वड
- २५ नाम सन्निध अरविन्दमुर्ति । भक्ता निमित्त भास्विति । भयंकर दिसे ज्वाला मुर्ति । हाणोनि गैब पीर बोलति ॥ ३३ ॥ चौत्रा सन्मुख महा पीर । काजी ना-
- २६ म पुरंदर । परदलो जय समशेर । नामे तुष्टोनि पावति ॥ ३४ ॥ कोठार रक्षक भीर समस्त । नवाब समशेर सदा मस्त । परदल करिता निःपात । नाम
- २७ मार्जन केलि ॥ ३५ ॥ येसे पुरातन नगर स्थापिले । ... जीर्ण जाले । तथासि घाबरें... केलें । स्वामि प्रसादे करुनि ॥ ३६ ॥ श्रीदेवी कालिका म-
- २८ मिर । बन्हानपुरि दरवाजा प्रसिद्ध । पूर्व दिशा प्रमाणपूज्य । उंच सखीस गज गणती ॥ ३७ ॥ चौरस मे क नबांकित ॥ द्वौ रोषा उपर रक्षिता । हि प्रति दि-
- २९ न नुः शोभत । लग्नमंडण मांडिल्या ॥ ३८ ॥ एकयोजन पर्यंत । कलस दिसति मयाप्रज । तारा साद नीतिसुत । राजा बोलति ऐकाचे ॥ ३९ ॥
- ३० धसे जगज्जननी । ते करिते दुर्गाते रक्षणि । निशीदिन पाळण भक्त जननि । करिते स्वामिनि दिनाची ॥ ४० ॥ गुर्जर देश महिमंडळी । दमसिंग जा-
- ३१ ण प्रतापि बळी । सिंधुमर्यादा खांगलि । भुवैकुण्ठधारका ॥ ४१ ॥ हस्तार देश सौराष्ट्र देश । दांता आणि कळ प्रदेश । मुख्येत्वा न नलदेशबीर-
- ३२ सेन पट्टण ॥ ४२ ॥ यामाजि एक बडमुत्तान । स्मरण केलिया पापहर्जन । दर्शन आळिया पुण्यपावन । प्राणि होति सर्वदा ॥ ४३ ॥ शिष्य-

- ३३ लिंबा महिमा अति उत्तम । कर्नाळि आणि झांडोद् ग्राम । हे तिरा मांडवः ओरसंगम । श्री रेवे माजि होतसे ॥ ४४ ॥ श्रीनर्मदातीर उत्तम नदी ।
- ३४ शिवरूपी महाभानंदि । आदि अनादि महासिद्धी । पावन करिति विम्बाते ॥ ४५ ॥ श्रीकुबेर आणि सोमेश्वर । त्रिलोकनाथा तुं उदार । गायक-
- ३५ वाडवंशी मांडार । परिपूर्ण आहेजी सर्वदा ॥ ४६ ॥ महिरबा उभय नदी । दर्मावती नाम प्रसिद्धि । एमनानी सुत महाबुद्धि । एकनिष्ठे-
- ३६ निर्धार ॥ ४७ ॥ स्वामिवचनी एमांकित । श्रीकृष्णे दि कि त । कौशिकाचा केला निःपात । महा-प्रतापे करुनि ॥ ४८ ॥ रेवा उत्तरती-
- ३७ रि संवत् । गणना अष्ट आणि शत । विक्रम शकाचे प्रमुख । स्त पं यि जाणपां ॥ ४९ ॥ शके शोडष समनीन । प्रजापति नाम संवत्सर जाणा ।
- ३८ माघमास कृष्णपक्ष । तिथ सप्तमि पै असे ॥ ५० ॥ दक्षण तीरी नृपवर । शालिवाहन राजाश्वर । समाप्ति जाति गुरु (वासर) । बुरानपुरी दर-
- ३९ वाजे ॥ ५१ ॥ जनक विश्वेश ज्यंबकनाथ । माता वाराणसी क्षेत्र नाम । माता भीमा गंगा आप । चुंडीराज जेष्ठ बंधु ॥ ५२ ॥ बंधु वराण ना नी द जाण ।
- ४० मैरव खड्गधरि परिपूर्ण । भगिनी नाम उभयता जाण । काशि आणि मणिकर्णिका ॥ ५३ ॥ श्लोक ॥ मंगल लेखकानांच । पाठकानांच मंगल ।
- ४१ मंगल सर्व लोकानां । भूमिर्भूतमितंगल ॥ ४५ ॥ श्रीकचेरी आणि अंतरग्रह । सुंदर भुवन निर्मिले पाहोजति । रत्नार काना दो । विश्वकर्मे निर्मिती ॥ १ ॥
- ४२ गुपति शोधा । जेसि अमरपुरी तथा । तैसी पुरंदर प्रांति विसे शोभा । कारगर्ये विसतसे ॥ २ ॥ गाधितानमणि नु न ना कडि येताति शेतबिंबगर्ति-
- ४३ विंतिस्तुजामहंत । ब्र मुर्त ते गै मामो । गामिचाण शिकार चन्दप । शंतु आणि सार मंदिर नानापरिचे चमत्कार । शक्रभुवना सारिखे ॥ श्री ॥

टीप:-या शिलालेखांत

- १ पांचव्या ओवीमध्ये दमाजी गायकवाडाचा उल्लेख येतो.
 - २ सातव्या ओवीमध्ये सयाजी यमुनाजी धात्रक असे नांव येते. हा ईसम डभोईचा किल्लेदार होता.
 - ३ पन्नास व पन्नावन अशा दोन ओव्यांमध्ये प्रजापति संवत्सर, माघ वद्य ७ गुरुवार अदी मिति आहे. या मितिस शके १६५५ संवत् १७९० तारीख १४ माहे फेब्रुवारी सन १७३४ आहे.
- या प्रमाणे महत्वाची माहिती असून यांत डभोईची वतुःसीमा पुढीलप्रमाणे वर्णिली आहे.
- १ पूर्व-१ हीरा भागोळ, चौत्रिया पीर, ३ माई डोकरी व ४ बन्हाणपुरी दरवाजा.
 - २ पश्चिम-१ वडोदरा भागोळ २ मुखिया पीर, ३ वाघनाथ.
 - ३ दक्षिण-१ शितळदेवी व २ तलाव, ३ नांदोदी दरवाजा, ४ हनुमान.
 - ४ उत्तर-१ महाकाली, २ चांपानेर दरवाजा.
 - ५ अग्नेय-१ फत्तेनाग बुरुज.
 - ६ नैऋत्य-भूधर बुरुज.
 - ७ इशान्य-नैब पीर.
 - ८ वायव्य - पंचविधिय बुरुज.

FREE TRANSLATION

Verses 1-3:—Invocation of gods.

„ 4-5:—O goddess Kālī, Damaji, the son of Pilaji Samsher Bahadur, is devoted to you.

Verse 7:—He has a servant, Sayaji Yamunaji Dhattrak. The ancient town, Darbhavati was founded by Vishaladeva.

Verses 8-9:—The town of Darbhavati was founded on an auspicious day. It strikes terror into the hearts of the invaders. The eight guardians of the directions of the earth protect the fort under the orders of the Mother.

„ 10-15:—To the east there exists the shrine of Brahmā-Rudra-Yoni intended for the detection of crimes. Subsequently, the Muslim kings built there a tomb called Māi Ḍokarī. There is a water tank behind the temple of the Goddess posed to the sun's rays. (Here the poet describes women coming to the tank to fetch water.)

„ 16-17:—To the south-east there is a large bastion called Fattenāg, which contains the shrine of Rājārājesvaranātha. A Muhammadan king tried to break the idol with his bow.

V. 18:—To the south there is the temple of Śītalā-mātā who favours her worshippers.

„ 19:—To the east, there is the tomb of a saint called Chautriyā worshipped by the Muhammadans.

Vv. 20-21:—Within the fort, the south is protected by Pañcheśvara Mahādeva, Gaṇapati and Hanumān; and there is an attractive gate there called the Nandodi Gate.

„ 22-25:—To the south-west there is a large bastion called Bhūdara commanding the fierce-looking wall of the fort on the north-west. The whole fort is protected by Vāghanātha, the omnipotent God. Nearby is situated the Barodā Gate which withstands the enemy's attack and which leads to the western wall. There is also a Pīr called Mukhiyā worshipped by the Muhammadans.

V. 26:—To the north-west there are five Yoginī goddesses. A bastion also stands there.

Vv. 27-29:—The famous Mahākālī, the destroyer of pride, is situated to the north where stands the Chāmpāner Gate in all its glory.

„ 30-33:—Towards the north-east there is the Shyāma bastion protected by Viśvarāja by whose powers the invading armies are rendered powerless like blades of grass. Nearby is a Dargāh devoutly worshipped by the people..... The Nāgeshwara Ghāṭ extends to the harem with a secret passage (for the use of the ladies of the harem). In the vicinity of Vadanam there is an awe-inspiring idol of Narasimha (subsequently) called (by the Muhammadans) Ghāib Pīr (the Invisible Saint).



Ganje Shahid Inscription.

Scale $\frac{1}{2}$

- Vv. 34-35:—Near the Chautā there is a tomb of a great saint called Kāzi whose name brings victory in strife. The Mīrs and the Navābs, the keepers of stores, are infused with spirit by his name and havoc in the enemy's camp.
- „ 36-40:—An ancient city was thus rebuilt, and the ancient tank which was dilapidated was repaired. Near the great Kālikā stands the famous Burhānpuri Gate facing the east. It is 52 feet in height and the gateway is 38 feet deep. It shines in glory every day like a marriage pandal. Its towers are visible from a distance of eight miles striking terror (into the heart of the beholder)... Nearby is the Mother of the three worlds who protects the fort.
- „ 41-45:—In the land of Gujarāt, Damasimha (Damāji) is known as brave and mighty. Gujarāt extends as far as the sea on whose coast is situated the town of Dvārakā—the heaven on the earth. (It includes) the provinces of Hallāra, Saurāshṭra, Danta, Cutch, Anāhilavādā and Patan. In these provinces the good goddess Shailya-Limbā holds her sway and her remembrance destroys sins and her sight purifies all living beings. There are the towns of Karnāli, Chāndod and Māṇḍwā. The river Or skirting these towns falls into the Narmadā which purifies the world.
- „ 46-48:—By the grace of Kubereśvara and Someśvara, the Lords of the three worlds, the treasure of the Gaekwads is always full. The talented son of Jamunāji, living at Dabhoi between the rivers Māhi and Narmadā, was the devoted servant of Damāji. While protecting the fort he annihilated Kaushika with great glory.
- „ 49-51:—(This was done at Burhanpuri Gate on Thursday, 14-2-1734).
- „ 52-53:—(The author describes his relations).
- V. 54:—May this be auspicious to the author, to the readers, to all the people, to the earth and to the king.

Many short epigraphs have been noticed in the citadel. They are mostly names of visitors or of masons. Several such records are found engraved in the inner walls of the bastion which has now become a Muḥamadan shrine and is called Pāñchbībī-kī-dargāh. The Musalmāns say that it is the mausoleum of five Muslim virgins who were killed there. The inscriptions incised on its walls are worn and do not seem to throw any light on the history of the citadel.

The bilingual record found outside the Ganje Shahīd Dargāh in the middle of the town near the city tank on the side of the main bazar is noteworthy. The epithet of Shahīd would show that the dargāh marks the place where some Musalmāns became martyrs. But the inscription makes no mention of any such incident. The upper part of the inscription is in Persian and the lower one in Gujarātī though written in Devanāgarī alphabet. Both the portions are dated. The inscription in Persian gives “19th of the month of Rabi’u’s-sānī of the Hijrī year 1054”, and the record in Devanāgarī gives Samvat 1701 as well as the Hijrī year 1054. The accompanying Plate IV reproduces the two inscriptions. Both of them give the names of villages and the *paraganās* to which they

belonged, i. e., Peṭlād, Sinor, Dābhoi and Baroda. Nandālā, evidently Nandod in the Rājpiplā State, is mentioned as *sarkār*. Both speak of *taqāvi* or advance made at the time of sowing seeds. Their respective texts read as follows :—

- الله اكبر
- (۱) بعنايت الهی و باقبال روز افزون
(۲) شاهنشاهی منک قزاق خان اوزبک ام
(۳) قول نامه نوشتیم که رعایا و برایا و سکنه و متوطنه
(۴) پرگنه برودا (۹) پرگنه سینور و
(۵) سرکار نادوت که بیجاگیر بنده درگاه است هر که زمین
(۶) بنجر درآرد و زراعت سال اول یک مکهودی
(۷) سال دوم دو مکهودی سال سوم چار مکهودی
(۸) مکهود تقاوی (۹)
(۹) قرض حسنہ مکهودی
(۱۰)
(۱۱) بسست و پنج مکهودی چون (معاش ؟)
(۱۲) مذکور بودست و بر رعایا نقصان
(۱۳) می شد تا بر آن
(۱۴) بود معاینه نمودیم این
(۱۵) خدا و بادشاه ظل الله
(۱۶) برین نهیج عمل نمایم
(۱۷) این
(۱۸) فی التاریخ نوزدهم شهر ربیع الثانی
(۱۹) سنه هزار و پنجاه و چهار
(۲۰)

TRANSLATION ¹

"GOD IS GREAT !

By the grace of God and the ever-increasing good-fortune of the Emperor, I Qazzāq Khān Uzbek write this deed so that the people and inhabitants, and residents and dwellers of Pargana Baroda,.....Pargana Sinor and Sarkār Nandot, which are the jāgīr of this humble servant of the court, should know that whoever would plough and cultivate the *banjar* (barren) land-.....in the first year one *Maḥmūdī* (silver coin), in the second year two *Maḥmūdīs*, in the third year four *Maḥmūdīs*.....as rent.....*taqāvi* (relief advance).....loan without interest.....*Maḥmūdī*.....twenty-five *Maḥmūdīs*.....As aforesaid was a *matāsh* (land

1. The transcript and the translation of the Persian inscription have been very kindly supplied by Mr. G. Yazdani, M. A., the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad (Deccan), to whom I am highly indebted.

grant for maintenance) and the tenants suffered on account (of the regulations) I reconsidered the matter and by the grace of God and the bounty of the King, the shadow of God, I am disposed to act as follows.....this.....this.....on the 19th of Rabi' II, 1045 A. H. (Tuesday, 22nd September 1635 A. D.)."

As to the contents of this inscription, Qazzāq Khān must be identified with the homonymous governor of Dabhoi who was in charge of the *tālukā* about the time specified in the record. Sayyad Muhammad Shāh might have been a *mutwalli* of the mausoleum. The Mahmūdī coins¹ of the record might possibly be the silver coins of Mahmūd Begadā or those struck by his son Muzaffari "The lower inscription is not very clear but its contents are practically similar to that of the upper one. The date is given both in the Hijri and the Vikrama era. The text seems to read as follows :—

- Line 1 श्रीदीर्घान प्रपरगणे डमोई जागीर खान श्री
 „ 2 कजाकखान सीजोर प्र(पर)गणे तथा सरकार नांदो—
 „ 3 इ आदी(दे)स त(दीया) मूजारिजा नमा(बा) ब मुहां(ह)म—
 „ 4 दशाह.....बंजर पेहेल बरस महमूदी रकम.....
 „ 5 (मां) दूखी बरस.....दीनी
 „ 6 पालीप तगावी मुलगी फसलमा देणी जोप (इप) बर
 „ 7 स नो जो स छि ज (फ)लया.....तैमाछी माही(दी)
 „ 8 नपडे अतयार ? आणी.....तेरवे साथे तेर.....सरे
 „ 9 लखेल सांती सन १०५४ संवत् १००१ वर्षे

The wording not being clear no connected translation of it is possible yet the text as far as it is deciphered may be rendered thus:—

"Qazzāq Khān the Dewan of paraganā Dabhoi and Jāgirdar of paraganā Sīnor and Sarkar Nāndod at the instance of the Muzariā Nawāb Muhammad Shāh.....waste land.....first year. Mahmūdī coins ... second year given....should be protected? Taqāvi and Mulgi crops should be given the produce in the year.....with that the dues of three months will have to be paid if not ready.....with that.....Rabi' 'u' s-sāni San 1054. Vikrama year 1701."

1. I am indebted to Mr. S. H. Hodivala, Retd. Principal of the Bahāuddin College, Junagadh, for this information. He has supplied me with the following note:—

"As regards the Mahmūdī, it was a silver coin first struck by Mahmūd Begadā of Champaner and Girnar fame. His coin weighed about 88 grains. His son Muzaffar struck a heavier type weighing about 110 grains, and there is a third variety heavier still of about 112 grs. All these types were called Mahmūdīs and the heaviest were sometimes denominated Changizi Mahmūdīs. As the silver was of low matter they exchanged for about 2/5th to a little more than 1/2 of the Akbari Rupee. As regards Qazzāq Khān his name is registered as a commander of 2,000 Zat Sawar in the *Badshahnāma* of Ahdul Hamid, Lahore, a contemporary chronicle of the first twenty years of the reign of Shah Jehan which was compiled in 1648 A. C. (Vol. II p. 726, l. 4). It appears from other entries in the same work that he was appointed Foujdār of Baroda on 28 Jumadi II, 1052 A. H. (*Ibid.* II, p. 309, l. 5 from foot)."

2. The nasal is superfluous here as well as in several other words of the text.

What Dabhoi or Darbhavati was at the time of Varāhamihira we have no means to ascertain, nor do we possess any information as to its shape or the buildings which stood here about the time of Jayasimha Siddharāja, i. e., in the twelfth century of the Christian era. The *praśasti* of Someśvara was written when Visaladeva was alive. The prayer for his victory which it contains is addressed to him direct as if he were sitting in front of the poet. The demonstrative pronoun एषः, is quite significant “कल्याणुतं जयतु वीरलदेव एषः”—May this Visaladeva be victorious for ever (1it. myriad of *Kalpa*). The panegyric would further tell us that the temple of Vaidyanātha was constructed by the architect (*Sūtradhāra*) Devāditya in his time. Which this temple of Vaidyanātha was we cannot say for certain, but the name of this stone mason (*Sthapati* or *Sūtradhāra*) and his father is incised on the main balcony window of the shrine now going by the name of Kālikā-mātā, and would lead to the surmise that it was the very sanctuary which Devāditya built during the reign of Visaladeva. The image of Kālikā might have been installed when that temple was desecrated or dismantled. I am however tempted to think that this was the residential portion and the temple of Vaidyanātha lay on the south side. The remains of that sanctuary have been conserved now as shown below.

The identification of these names, that is, the name of the *Sūtradhāra* and of his father supplies us with a decisive evidence on the question of the date and of the builder of the whole structure. I am glad I was led to discover them while studying the sculptures on the building. That the architect engraved his and his father's name is quite natural in such cases. The structure is a masterpiece of his skill and he must have been proud of it. That was why he engraved the names in the inscription (Plate V) which I reproduce below :-

सूत्र आह्वण.....सूत्र देवादित्य

Here the name of the father appears as Ahlaṇa while in the *praśasti* it figures as *Ahlādāna*. But this discrepancy need not hamper the identification, for Ahlaṇa is only the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word *Ahlādāna*, meaning gladdener. Devāditya and his ancestors are described in vv. 111 and 112 of the *praśasti* of Someśvara which need not be repeated here. These verses would connect the mason with the builders of the Sun temple of Mūlsthāna or Multān in the Punjab which is even now famous for its shrine of Sūrya. The accounts given in the *Vastupālacharita* and the *Kīrtikaumudī* which I have quoted above would indicate that several structures were built during the reign of Viradhavala and on this evidence it can be averred that Dabhoi was a citadel during the early part of the thirteenth century after Christ. They show that the predatory tribes headed by Ghūghula of Godhrā were a source of constant terror to the residents of Dabhoi and to put a stop to their inroads a rampart was run round the town by Tejaḥpāla under the orders of Viradhavala, the father of Visaladeva. According to the account supplied by Jinaharshagaṇi in his *Vastupālacharita*, the rampart, the gates and the temple of Vaidyanātha were built in the time of Viradhavala. But Someśvara seems to be more trustworthy. In either case the date of the citadel of Dabhoi and its magnificent structures would be the middle of the thirteenth century after Christ. The date

Plate V.



Names engraved on the inner main balcony of the Kālikā-mātā temple.



Inscription dated Samvat 1344 with the *Gadhadya* āṇ.

given in the *prasasti* would be supported by the inscription on the Mahuḍī gate (Plate VI) which belongs to the Vikrama year 1344 and is later by thirty-three years only. This date belongs to the reign of Sāraṅgadeva as shown by the following table :—

Vīradhavalā (died 1242 A. D.)
 Visaladeva (1243 to 1261 A. D.).
 Arjunadeva (1261 to 1274 A. D.).
 Sāraṅgadeva (1274 to 1296).
 Karna (Ghelo) (1296 to 1300).

It however does not affect the date I have fixed for the construction of the Hīrā Gate or of the Mahuḍī and other gates, for it refers to the repairs done by some masons. That Dabhoi was subjected to depredations by the Musalmāns during those days we all know. This record gives the names of the masons who were, apparently, engaged in building or reconstructing the gate. The text is too corrupt to give a connected sense. The date is clear and reads:—

Samvat 1344 Jyeshṭha Vadi 4 Su(S'u)kre

The epithet *selāṭa* is also distinct and would show that the proper names following it designate the stone masons who repaired the gate. The name of Vaṭa[pa]dra (pura), i. e., Baroda, also seems to be there. The curious representation of a donkey and a woman, called *gadhedvācīt āṇ* in Marathi, often found in late medieval Hindu inscriptions is engraved below this record also, as seen on the facsimile given in Plate VI. It is meant to be an imprecation on the foe who would think of demolishing the structure.

As has been remarked above Dabhoi was a citadel or fortified town in the thirteenth century. Now its fortifications have mostly been dismantled and the material of which they were built has been largely used for ballast or other similar purposes. Except for the principal gates with their adjuncts, a bastion and some walling here and there together with the basement upto a height of about eight feet where the lozenge shaped ornament so typical of medieval Gujarāt architecture starts, the whole of the enclosure or fortifying wall has been removed. The town is not a square. According to Burgess and Cousens, two contiguous sides are 800 yards each and the other two about a thousand yards each. The city has four entrances, one on each cardinal point, where the large gateways are standing even now. They are called Hīrā Gate, Barodā Gate, Chāndod or Nāndod Gate and Champāner, Mori or Mahuḍī Gate. respectively, and stand in the east, west, south and north sides of the town. The Hīrā Gate seems to have been the chief gate. All these gates are double entrances. The one which is an adjunct to the Hīrā Gate is a plain structure and is known as Barhānpuri or Barhānpurā after the town of Barhānpur which it faces. Similarly, the other outer gates are named after the principal towns which they face according to the usual practice of naming a gateway after the principal city that stands in the opposite direction.

The Barhānpuri Gate was in a very parlous condition but has now been repaired. Between it and the Hīrā Gate, Bhangis resided and the result was that the locality became insanitary. But now it has been cleared and

levelled and it is being turned into a lawn or recreation ground. If the adjoining tank were cleaned, the steps repaired and the whole locality tidied up, the attractiveness of the monument would be increased immensely and it would become an ideal place for picnics and other social amenities.

The chief gate goes by the name of Hīrā. Reasons for this designation are obscure. Tradition says it was named after the master-mason called Hīrā who, instead of getting any prize for his good work, was put in prison for fear of building a similar structure elsewhere! The aperture marking the cell where he was immured and through which food was served to him is still pointed out in the northern outer wall of the gate. The name cannot be derived from Hīrā meaning diamond. That it is a jewel (Hīrā) of gates will not be a very satisfactory explanation either. To connect it with *Hira*, an epithet of Śiva, would not be unreasonable especially when the important temple of Vaidyanātha-Śiva stood close to it. But it would be pedantic. The southern side is mostly in ruins, as also the Śiva shrine which stood there. In all probability the remains of the Śiva shrine we see here represent the very sanctuary which has been mentioned in the *Someśvara prasasti* and other works under the name of Vaidyanātha, the divine lord of physicians. Śiva as the principal physician is mentioned even in the *Vedas*. Says the *Rigveda* (II. 33 V. 4):—

मा स्वा रुद्र बुधुधामा नमोमिमा दुषुती वृषभ मा लङ्कती ।

उभो वीरौ अर्पय मेघजेमिमिषकमं त्वा मिषजो दृणोमि ॥

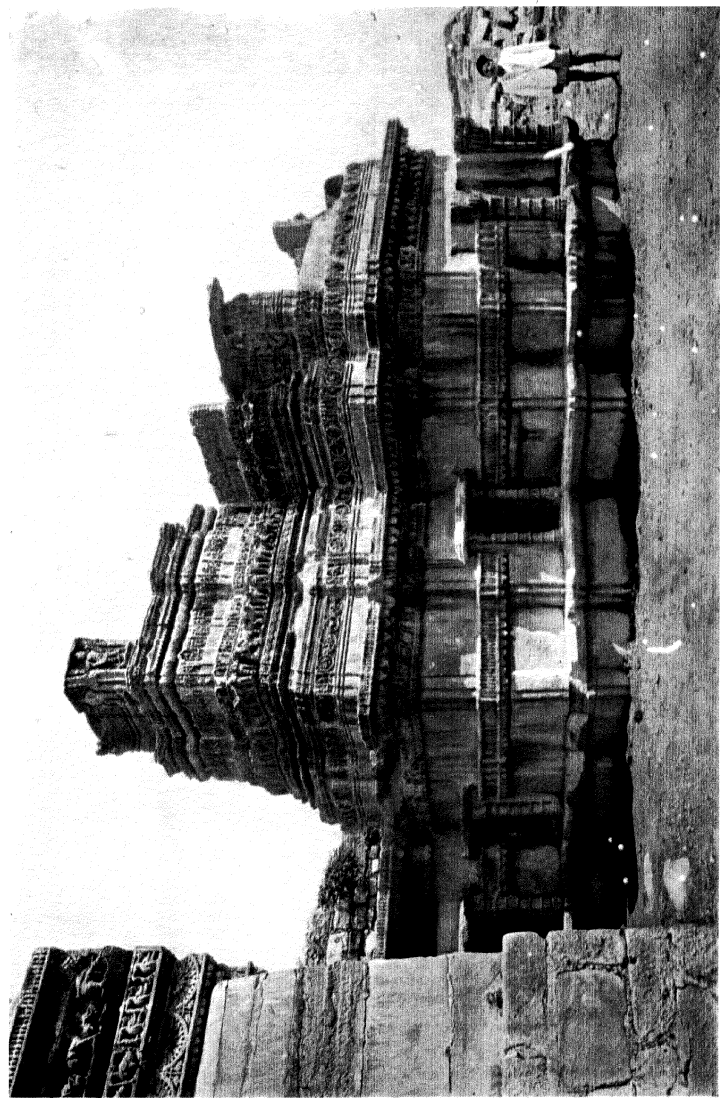
'May we not anger you with our obeisances, O Rudra! May not a bad praise (or) a joint invocation (*displease you*). Heal our heroes by your medicines. I hear you are the best of physicians.'

This shrine has now been conserved. Plate VII gives an idea of its present condition.

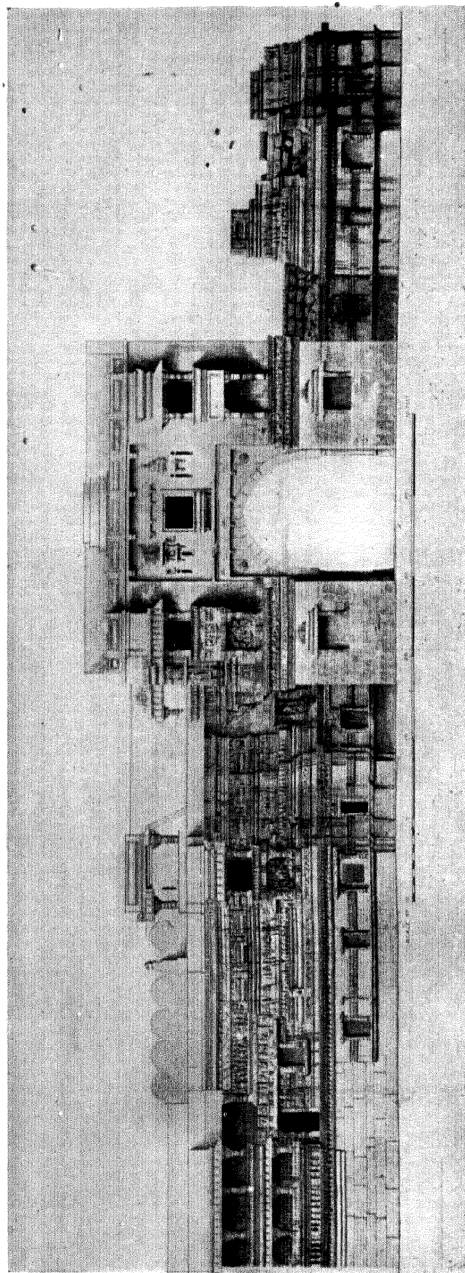
The Barodā Gate is now the best preserved and therefore most imposing. The Hīrā Gate has suffered most and has undergone material alterations at the hands of the Musalmān occupants. This gateway is about 37 feet deep. Originally there were six pilasters on each side of it. Three of them supported the corbelled brackets of the roof. The middle pair of these pilasters, about 9½ feet apart, accommodated the massive doors when flung open. Now the original outer pair has been removed and a large Saracenic arch¹ is inserted in the front. The present doors are attached to the jambs of this arch. The front side of the gate has been rebuilt by the Musalmāns who used old material in reconstructing it. A balcony window was also inserted above the said arch. This is shown by plate VIII. The inner side has not been much destroyed; though the central portion has been largely renewed and a low archway inserted; an

1. The belief held by Fergusson and those who followed his views that the construction of the arch was not known to ancient Hindus and was introduced in India by the Musalmāns is erroneous; for arches made by the Hindus long before the advent of Islām in India have been found. This belief has rightly been controverted by E. B. Havell (*Indian Architecture*, pp. 59 ff. etc.).

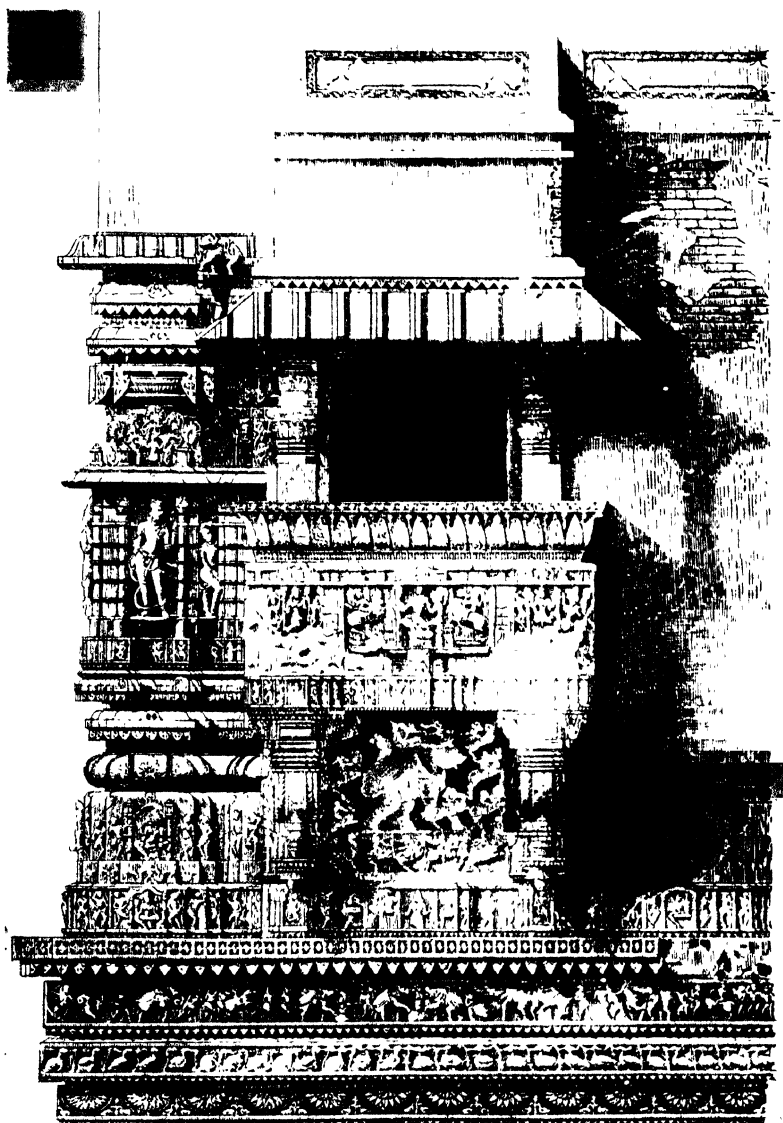
Plate VII.



Vaidyanātha temple after conservation.

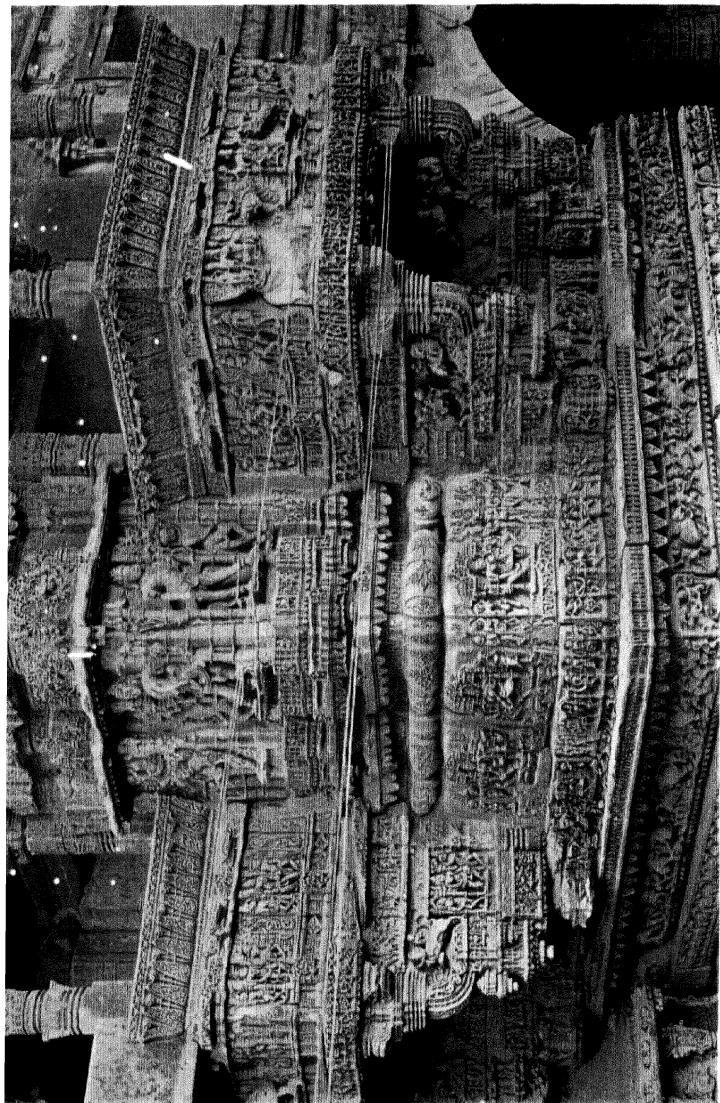


Hrā Gate with its adjuncts, inner view.



Scale of 10 feet.

Balcony window in the Kālikā mātā temple.



Side balconies of the Hira Gate.

apartment has also been provided for a defence guard. The sides appear to be original structures, each containing a highly sculptured overhanging balcony. One of these seems to have been entirely rebuilt, the other one, on the north side, is but little altered. The inner side of the gate with its adjuncts is represented on Plate VIII.

The construction of the gateway, as has been remarked by Burgess and Cousens, is wooden in character. "It is a framework mortised and tenoned together, exerting bending and tensile strains, for which stone is but ill adapted. Consequently when one part gives way the whole generally follows by the snapping of the brittle stone. In the curved brackets there is but a very small section of the material which passes from the top to the bottom wholly within the bracket, so that most of the weight upon it produces a shearing force tending to break it off. The shearing rather than the crushing resistance of the stone is thus brought into play. In wood work this would be perfectly legitimate, and throughout Gujarāt is found abundance of wood work, both old and new, with just such bracketing and it is evident that the construction of these gateways was actually copied in stone from similar structures in wood then existing."

The Hīrā Gate must have been profusely and minutely carved. But this carving is now to be seen only on the Kālikā-mātā temple side, and on the extant part of the Vaidyanātha shrine. Excellence of detail can be easily achieved in the case of wood work, or when the stone used is very soft. The material of these structures, however, is hard, and would yield only to great skill in wielding the chisel; the deftness of the old *śilpīns* of Gujarāt is thus seen to be very remarkable. The gate proper, i. e. the entrance, has hardly any carving left. The southern side where the Vaidyanātha temple stood is practically gone excepting a small portion of the shrine which has now been conserved. See Plate VII. The northern side, however, is in a much better condition and the sculptures carved on it will amply repay close study. The carving shows four string courses of different patterns. One of them, which is at the top, at once catches the eye of the spectator. The projecting frieze has three principal members; the lower one is carved with half rosettes, the second with *chakras*, and the third with a procession of elephants, men, camels, etc. There is a thin cornice above this string course. The portion above it is more richly carved, the surface being literally overlaid with ornaments. Four balcony windows spring out of this surface resting on richly carved brackets and provided with projecting and sloping roofs as shown in the accompanying Plates VIII, IX and X. Between the brackets supporting the sill of the window there is carved in bold relief an elephant with his rider surrounded by horsemen. Possibly the figure riding the elephant represents the very Visaladeva who, as the story goes, was born here, or perhaps Viradhavala himself, in whose reign the citadel or the gate was constructed as has been stated above. The figures engraved on the brackets and the sides represent some of the divinities of the Hindu pantheon.

The temple of Kālikā has undergone substantial repairs, but the exterior still retains some of the original striking features as seen in Plate XI. It has several mouldings and is profusely ornamented with sculptures so typical of

the rich style of Gujarāt of the thirteenth century. The temple has three storeys, the shrine proper being on the first floor. It is now reached by a flight of steps on the inner or city side. But these steps are evidently a later addition. The original entrance was probably from the stairs leading to the upper storey of the gateway. A large gate with old wooden doors, which is still preserved, marks the passage. It is now kept bolted from within but is opened on festive occasions. The external side of this shrine is represented by Plate XI.

Let us now turn to the sculptures themselves. We find that the whole exterior is full of them. Bands of mouldings and bas-reliefs cover the outer walls from the basement to the summit with figures in niches at every turn. High up on this wall looking to the town we find the legend of समुद्रमंथन (churning of the ocean) carved skillfully in bas-relief. See Plate XII. Here the ocean is symbolised by a water pot. Above the shoulders of the three churners on one side are three of the objects that appeared out of the ocean during the churning, namely, Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune and beauty, Airāvata, the elephant considered to be the prototype of the elephant race, and Uchchaiṣravas or the horse regarded as the prototype and king of horses. Lakshmi went to Vishnu as his share and the elephant and the horse to Indra. Further on, near Śiva, is Dhanvantari, the physician of the gods, who was also churned out. His right hand is broken but probably held the pot of ambrosia or *amṛita* the appearance of which created great commotion among the gods and the demons, which was suppressed only by the cleverness of Vishnu. Next to him stands Viśvakarmā. These names are engraved below the figures, which is an interesting feature of the sculpture. Śiva seated with his bull Nandi is called Vaidyanātha as we read in the inscription represented in the copy given in the upper line of Plate V. The names of the masons or *sātradhāras* have already been noticed. The figure of Pārvatī is marked by the *linga* and Gaṇapati—the label underneath seems to read Aparṇā. Other names are worn out. The fourteen jewels churned out are enumerated in the following verse of the popular *maṅgalāṣṭaka* :—

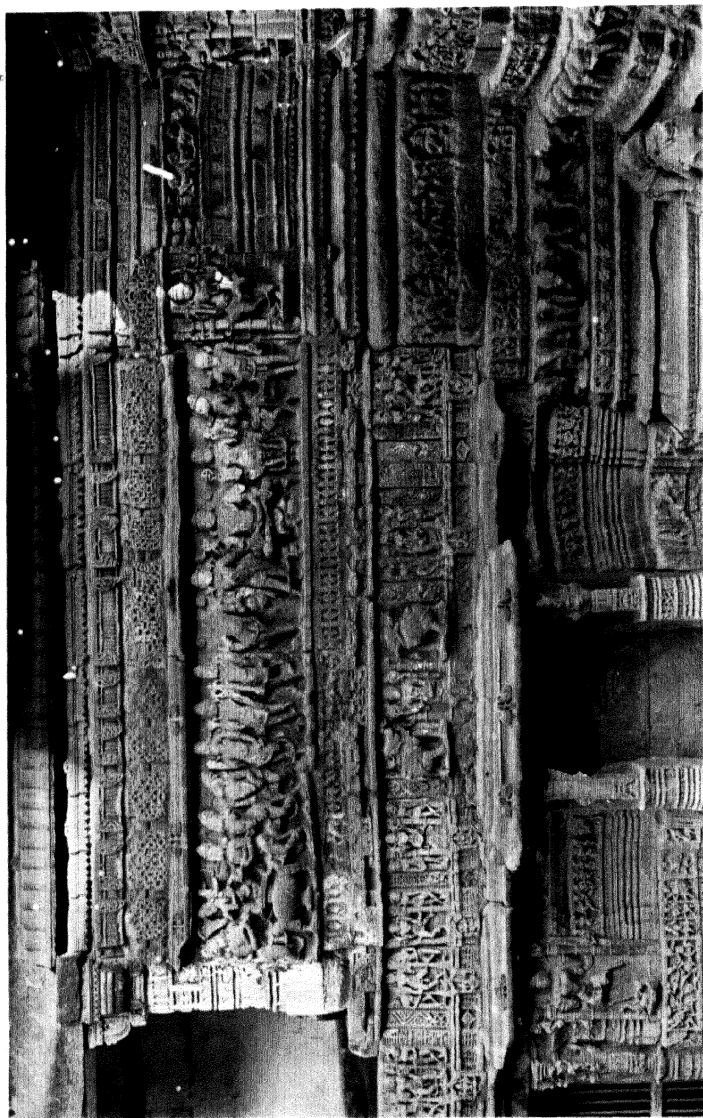
लक्ष्मीः कौस्तुभपा रिजतकसुरा धम्बन्तरिक्षन्द्रमा
गावः कामदुधाः सुरेश्वरगजो रमादिदेवांगनाः।
अम्बः सममुखो विषं हरिष्यनुः शंखामृतं चांबुधेः
रत्नानीह चतुर्दश प्रतिदिनं कुर्युः सदा मंगलम्॥

The legend is connected with the *Kūrma* or Tortoise Incarnation of Vishnu which he assumed in order to help to recover some *ratnas* (jewels or valuable things) that had been lost in the deluge. Vishnu placed himself in the form of a tortoise at the bottom of the sea of milk (*Kshiroda*) and made his back the base or pivot of the mountain Mandara. For a churning rope the gods and demons turned or twisted the great serpent Vāsuki round the mountain; they divided themselves into two parties, and each took an end of the snake and thus churned the sea until the *ratnas* were recovered. The gods were cunning enough to put the demons on the side of the mouth of Vāsuki whose poisonous hissings burnt all that they touched. The jewels churned out and enumerated in the verse quoted above are:—

1. Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune and beauty, 2. Kaustubha, a jewel, 3. Pārijāta, a celestial tree, 4. Surā, wine, 5. Dhanvantari,



Kālikā-mātā temple, outer side from east.



Churning of the Milk-ocean.

the physician of gods, 6. Chandra, the moon, 7. Surabhi, the cow of plenty, 8. Airāvata, the celestial elephant, 9. Rambhā, a nymph and pattern of beauty, 10. Uchchaiṣravas, the celestial horse, 11. Hālāhala, poison, 12. Dhanus, a bow, 13. Śaṅkha, the conch of victory, 14. and Amṛta, the elixir of life.

The outer wall, i. e., the wall looking to the Barhāṇpurā Gate, bears the legend connected with the death of king Parīkshit, the son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Arjuna the great Pāṇḍava hero. Plate XIII. This legend occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and in some of the *Purāṇas* as well. The advent of Kali or the Iron Age is believed to have commenced with the death of Parīkshit. His name is engraved below the figure meant to represent him in the scene and makes the identification easy and certain. The myth may be abridged as follows —

At the death of Parīkshit from snake-bite his son Janamejaya out of revenge resolved to exterminate the whole serpent race and instituted सर्पश्राद्ध in which all the serpents were burnt except Takshaka who was saved by the sage Āstika. In consequence of this help serpents will not, so goes the story, injure anybody who pronounces the name of the sage—

सर्पापसर्प भद्रं ते लोकानुग्रहाकारकम् ।

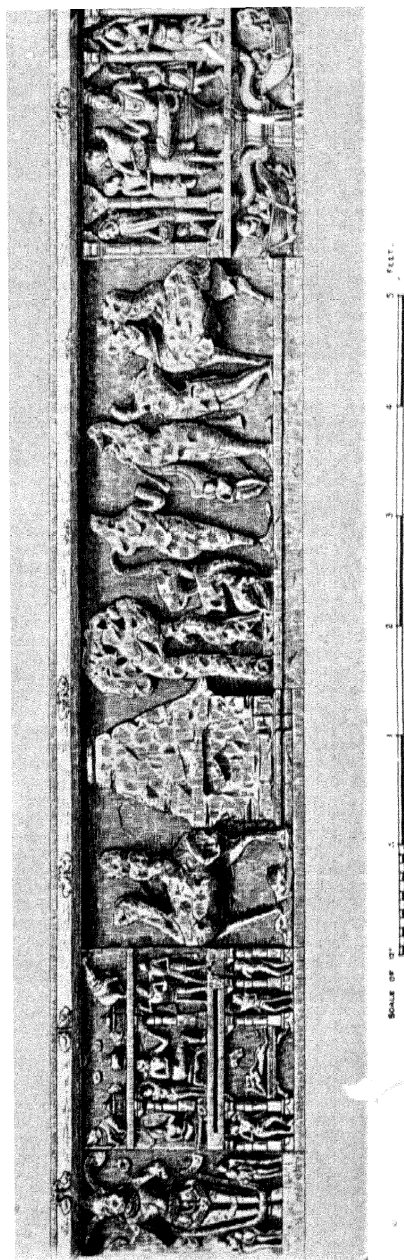
जनमेजयस्य यज्ञान्ते आस्तीकवचनं स्मर ॥

A serpent is reminded of the word given to Āstika at the sacrifice of the serpents to leave persons unharmed if they remember the sage. The story says that Parīkshit went out hunting in a forest and wounded a deer which ran away. He followed the wounded animal but could not overtake it. During the pursuit he came across a Brāhmaṇa and asked him if he has seen the deer. The Brāhmaṇa was under a vow of silence and did not reply. Thereupon Parīkshit, being enraged at his insolence, lifted a dead snake lying nearby with the end of his bow and put it round the neck of the Brāhmaṇa and went away not knowing that he had insulted a great seer. Śrīṅgi, the son of this *Rishi*, heard of the incident from his playmates who taunted him saying, "You are so and so, but your father is wearing a dead snake round his neck". Thereupon he, hot-tempered as he was, cursed the evil-doer to the effect that he would be bitten to death by Takshaka within seven days for putting the carcass of a serpent round his sire's head and thus insulting him. When the father came to know of this he felt very sorry for he knew that Parīkshit had done what he did in ignorance. But he could not counteract the curse which was pronounced in solemnity and with due ritual. The *śāpa* being irrevocable he warned Parīkshit to be careful and to do some *punya* before he died, for die he must in accordance with the curse uttered by his angry son. Parīkshit felt very sorry for his act which had led him to insult a holy man, though unknowingly. He and his ministers tried to find a way out of this evil, and a room was built in the midst of a lake resting on one pillar. Parīkshit took shelter in this room where antidotes were kept ready and Brāhmaṇas well-versed in charms meant for counteracting serpents' bites were brought to render help to the king if needed. No one else was allowed to come into this room. A certain Brāhmaṇa named Kaśyapa came to know of the fate in store for the king and being in possession of the knowledge of curing serpent bites, started out to save him. On his way he was met by Takshaka disguised as

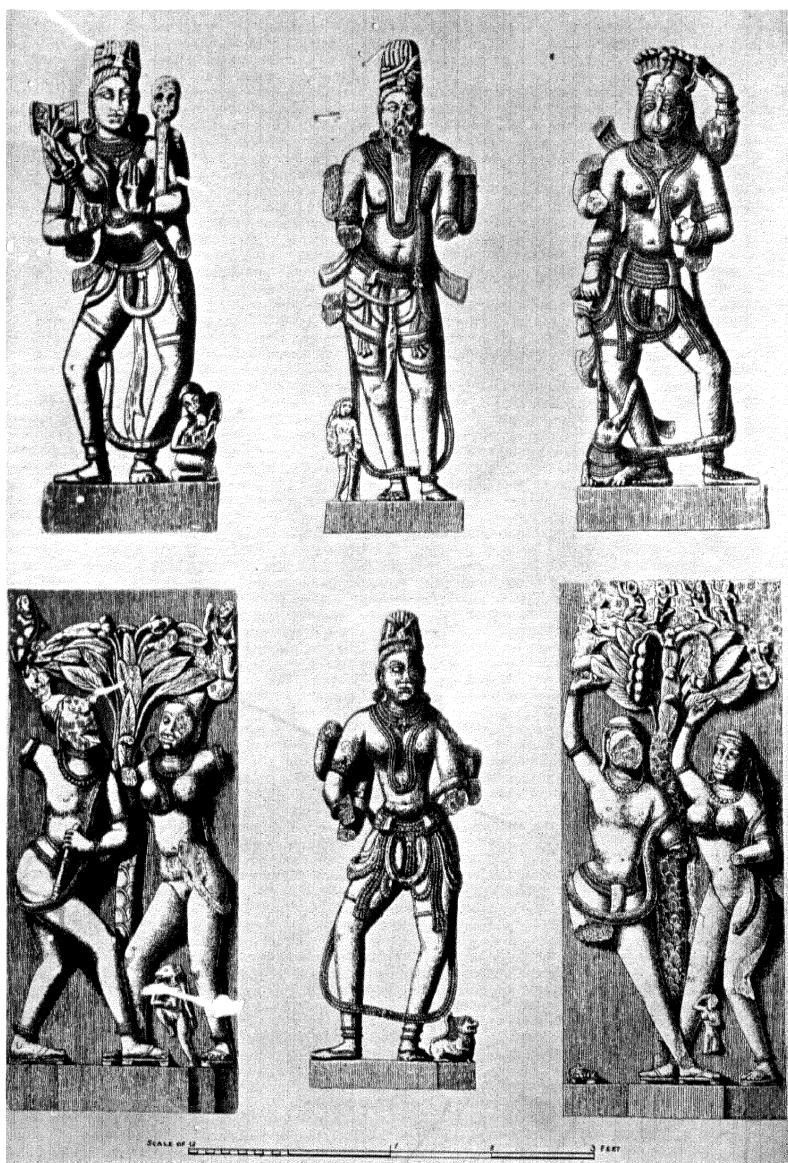
an old Brāhmaṇa. When questioned as to the object of his journey he disclosed it to Takshaka. Thereupon Takshaka, in order to test his supernatural power, burnt up a tree with his poison, after revealing himself, and asked him to revive it. Then Kaśyapa collected the ashes and brought the tree back to life. Takshaka discovering that his intention would be frustrated by this Brāhmaṇa dissuaded the latter from proceeding to the doomed king by presenting him with enormous wealth, and managed to send him back. To accomplish his object he adopted the device of sending serpents disguised as Brāhmaṇas with presents of fruits to Parīkshit. Finding that the king accepted the presents Takshaka himself went in the disguise of a Brāhmaṇa and offered fruits to the credulous king who, owing to his predilection for choice fruits, began to eat them. Whilst so doing he noticed a red worm with black shining eyes and put it on his neck laughing and saying let it be Takshaka and let him now bite him. This was on the seventh day at the time of sunset. Parīkshit thought that the time for the curse to take effect was almost gone and no Takshaka had appeared so far. No sooner had he said these words than Takshaka assumed his own form and bit him to death and then disappeared after fulfilling his mission. In the sculpture under notice, Plate XIII, we see the tree which was reduced to ashes by Takshaka but revived by Kaśyapa, with a serpent coiled at its foot. On one side Parīkshit is shown sitting in his room in the lake built upon a single pillar. The serpents disguised as Brāhmaṇas are presenting fruits to him. They are represented as having come from the shore in boats which are shown below. The whole legend is sculptured with great skill and vigour. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* was recited to Parīkshit during these seven days. Even nowadays orthodox Hindus consider it to be a great meritorious act to hear and recite the *Purāṇa* in a week's time without break, and this recitation is called *Saptāha*.

The other figure sculpture is distributed over the walls of the building in niches as single figures, in pairs, or in groups. See Plates IX-XII. In the middle of the group on the face of the overhanging closed balcony (Plate XI), the inside of which forms the shrine, there stands a many-armed female figure, which, from the trident and club besides her, may be taken to be Pārvatī. She is flanked by attendants or *chowri*-bearers.

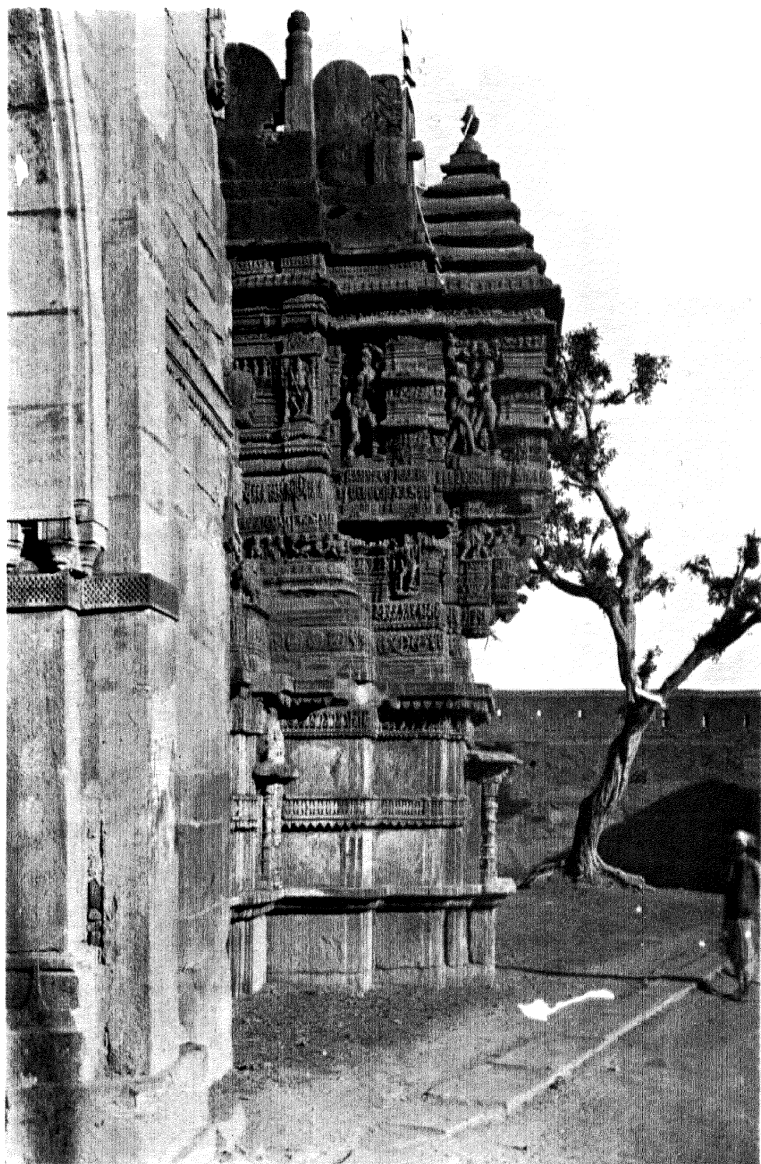
The other figure sculpture is distributed over the walls of the Hīrā Gate, either in niches, panels or otherwise. The southern side of this gate is destroyed excepting a portion of the Vaidyanātha temple. An idea of the sculpture and carving on the city side of this portion can be formed from Plate VII. The northern side of the gate going by the name of Kālikā-mātā temple is more or less intact and bears on both the faces of the walls profuse carving in high and low relief showing great artistic skill. The sculpture is distributed in single figures, in pairs or in groups of three or more figures. The Plates numbered IX to XIVb will give an idea of their excellent workmanship. The sculptor lavished his special care on the balcony windows, open as well as closed, and on their four sides including offsets. Avoiding minute descriptions, a few of the particularly noteworthy sculptures might be detailed here including the six figures drawn by Burgess and Cousens in Plate XIV of their *Antiquities of Dabhoi*, which have been reproduced in Plates XIV, XIVa, and XIVb of the present work. It is to be



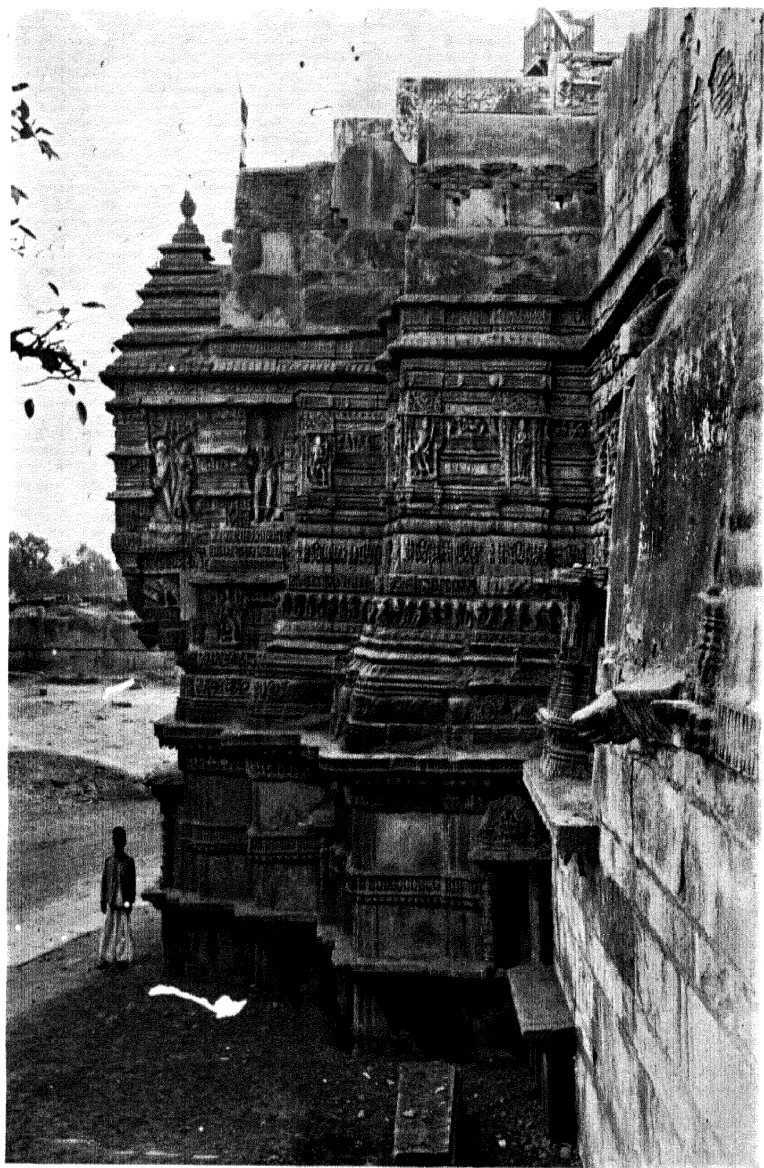
Legend of Parikshit.



Sculptures on the outer side of the Kālikā-mātā temple.



Kalikā-mātā temple, outer face, left side.



Kālīkā-mātā temple, outer face, right side.

regretted that the hands of most of these figures are mutilated and the respective cognizances, so very essential for identification, are not discernible. Consequently, their identity remains unascertained. In the group of the three standing figures on the face of the overhanging closed balcony (Plate XI), the inner side of which forms the shrine of Kālikā-mātā, the central image with six arms, now broken, seems to be the representation of Durgā or Pārvaṭī. The symbols of *triśūla* or trident and club are recognizable. The flanking figures are of the attendant *Chowri*-bearers. The male figure with a long beard appears to be Brahmā. He is shown in the middle of the two female figures on the upper row in Plate XIV but is actually sculptured to our right on the open balcony window of the inner or city side of the Kālikā-mātā temple. Of the two female figures shown on the upper corners of Plate XIV the one towards the right must be Nārasimhi, the *S'akti* or counterpart of Nārasimha, the Man-Lion Incarnation of Viṣṇu. The leonine face is quite clear, though the crocodile, however conventional, carved near her right leg is the symbol of Gaṅgā. The other image is probably a form of Durgā or Pārvaṭī; the symbols of *ḍamaru* or drum and *Khaṭvāṅga* (staff with a skull at the top) are distinct. The former is sculptured on one of the offsets of the miniature temple above the balcony window on the outer side of the Kālikā-mātā shrine as seen in Plate XIVa. The latter is sculptured on the left side of the open balcony window on the inner or city side of the Kālikā-mātā shrine, partly visible on the extreme right side of Plate XII. The figure, which is drawn below that of Brahmā but is actually carved on the right side of the miniature shrine seen in Plate XIVb, seems to be six-armed and has a symbol of a *śiṃha* or lion shown on the left side. She must be some form of the *Śiṃha-vāhinī* Durgā. But it is the representation of a male and a female conspicuously drawn under a tree on each of the two sides of the miniature shrine on the outer face of the Kālikā-mātā temple that calls for special notice. We see these figures on the two lower corners of Plate XIV, but their exact position is seen in Plates XIVa and XIVb. Both these pairs attract the attention of visitors and require some explanation. Many people would take them to be the representation of Adam and Eve in Paradise. The late Mr. Forbes also held the same view.¹ Such an identification does not require any special reasons to refute it. First of all the representation of a purely Christian myth in Hindu sculpture will be out of place. Secondly, these figures are decorated with ornaments, have sandals, and are draped also. This is not the case in the representations of Adam and Eve. A fruit tree is there, no doubt, but that does not matter much. Nor does the fact that one is a male and the other, a female. Besides, the attitude or the pose of these figures is a fighting one. The possibility seems to be that they are connected with the cult of Durgā, and, if a conjecture could be made, represent Durgā herself at the time of killing the demon king *S'umbha* and his brother *Nis'umbha* as described in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*. The legend recorded in this work says the demon king taunted the goddess to the effect that she was fighting with the help of the *S'aktis* of various gods. Thereupon the goddess said that she was all alone and the *S'aktis* were the manifestations of her own powers or *vibhūtis* and

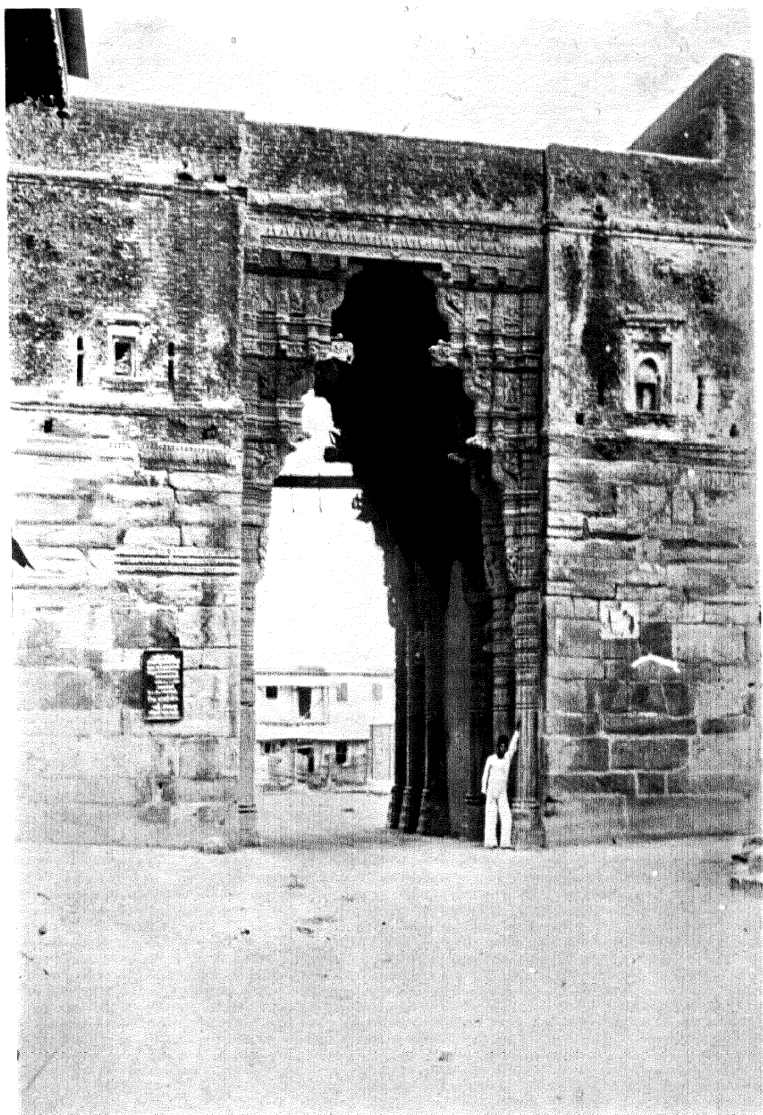
1. See Murrey's *Hand Book of India and Ceylon* under Dabhoi and the *Antiquities of Dabhoi in Gujarat*, (p. 10).

then jumping into the sky fought the demon king unsupported and single-handed. The face of the male figure is demoniacal and the mouth is open as if for devouring the foe. The arms of both the figures are raised as if to give a blow. The fruit tree under which these two figures are drawn has celestials or *Devatās* flying above it, apparently witnessing the encounter. They seem, however, to have no special significance and might have been sketched in to mark the battle-field. But after all, this is a conjecture only.

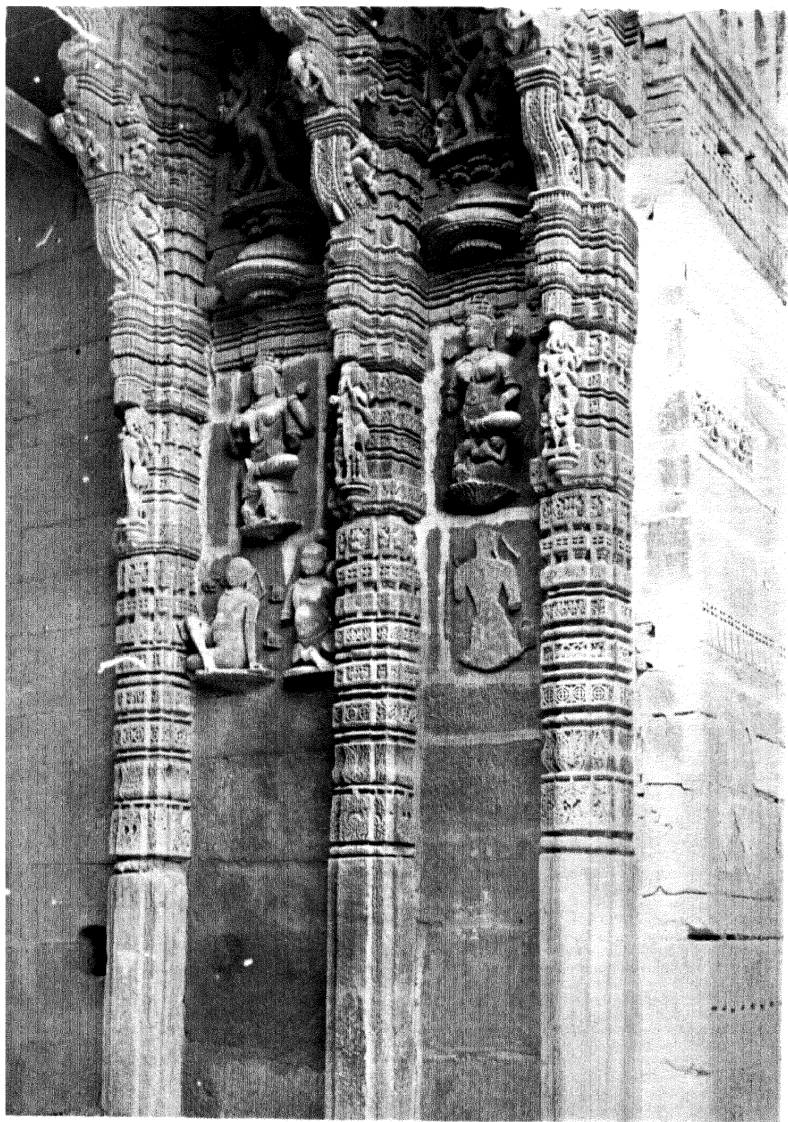
Lower down on the inner side of the temple, and nearer the gateway, is a very pretty little projecting niche holding a mutilated figure of Mahākālī, shewn as a skeleton with long shrivelled breasts. Among the larger figures on the west face of the temple are Brahmā with his long beard, spoken of above, and Gaṇapati with his elephant head and protuberant stomach. The larger figures are built into the wall in niches, but round the basement of the temple there are empty niches which must have contained figures, now missing. In one of these niches on the west face has been inserted the inscription of the time of Maharaja Damajirao Gackwad, detailed above.

The Barodā Gate is now the best preserved and more or less entire. It must have had six bracketed supports instead of arches, springing from pilasters; but now the third pilaster from the outside has been cut away to make room for an arch, evidently Muhammadan in origin. The brackets and this arch support six architraves over which the slabs of the roof are laid. The deep overhanging cornice on both sides is now only partially preserved. The small pedestals at the ends of the cornice supported small elephants as is the case in the balconies of the Kālikā-mātā temple at the Hīrā Gate.

The remaining two gates, namely, the Mahuḍī and the Nāndod Gate, are not so high as the Barodā gate. Both have one course of bracketing less than that of the latter. They are also elaborately carved. Among the numerous mythological figures which adorn them are Śiva in his multifarious forms, Viṣṇu with his emblems and vehicle Garuḍa, his Narasimha or Man-Lion Incarnation, Dakṣha with the head of a ram, Sarasvatī with her vehicle the peacock, Mahākālī in the grim skeleton form, and many other figures. The Mahuḍī Gate was completed in the Vikrama year 1344, i. e., some thirty-three years after the date of the Hīrā Gate *prasaṣti* of Someśvara, as has already been stated above. The interior of the gate bears magnificent sculptural and other carvings, as is shown in the accompanying Plates XV-XVII. The brackets, the pilasters and the various figures connected with the Hindu pantheon are beautifully chiselled out. The images are marked with labels which add to their interest. Śiva is the chief figure in these sculptures. His sixteen-armed representation in the Tāṇḍava attitude is very attractive. The attributes are not distinct and it can hardly be affirmed which particular form of Śiva do these sculptures represent. But the dancing attitude is clear and would show that they are *Nṛttamūrtis*. Sixteen arms however would suggest three forms, namely, Virūpākṣha, Tryambaka and Bahurūpi-Saḍāśiva. If a surmise could be made, Bahurūpi-Saḍāśiva might be the chief subject of these sculptures. The *dhyānas* of these forms are given by Maṇḍana in the *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*¹



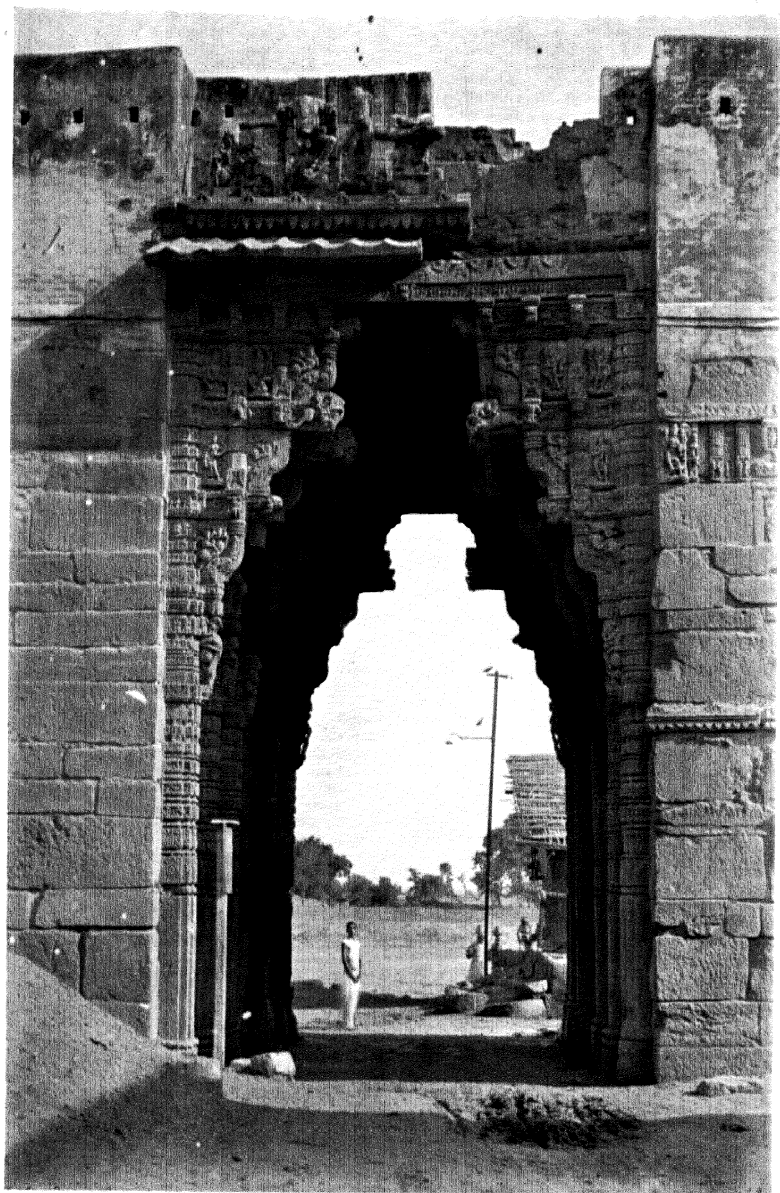
Mahuqli Gate, view from south.



Mahuḍi Gate, inner view.



Mahudi Gate, another inner view.



Nāndod Gate, view from north.

and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*¹ and the *Nṛīttamūrtis* of Śiva are described in detail by Gopinatha Rao². It will be superfluous to describe them here. The dance of Śiva was once a favourite theme of sculptors in Southern India. To a devotee of Śiva it is full of significance. Śiva as Natarāja or 'king of dancers' is the combination of the three principal gods of Hinduism and his dance represents all the chief activities of godhead—creation, protection and destruction. As creator he is Brahmā, as protector he is Viṣṇu and as destroyer he is Rudra. The dance is the cosmic activity and in it a devotee of Śiva realises what is happening in the cosmos. The builders of the citadel were chiefly *S'airas*. That is why a special sanctuary dedicated to Śiva (Vaidyanātha) was built at the Hirā Gate and the *S'airas* element predominates in the statuary of the other gates. But this does not mean that a Hindu will not worship other divinities of his religion. He will be cosmopolitan in that respect but his *ishṭa-devatā*, i. e., the divinity in whose worship he has been initiated, will be one. That is why the representations of other divinities are also depicted on the gates and other places of the citadel of Dabhoi.

Hinduism or rather Brahmanism has two main branches or sects, namely, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. The former regards Viṣṇu and the latter Śiva, as the Supreme Lord. Both these sects have contributed largely to the development of plastic art. The *S'airas* sculptures are mostly based on what is termed the 'ascetic ideal.' Śiva is the personification of the 'ascetic life' and of the supreme knowledge without which *mokṣa* or final emancipation cannot be gained—*rite jñānān=na muktih*. By nature, as I have remarked elsewhere³, he is a *yogin* or ascetic and, consequently, the incidents of his life could only be few. His incarnations were not so multifarious as those of Viṣṇu, who, to relieve the gods as well as human beings of their distress had to manifest himself in more numerous forms or *avatāras* than Śiva. The result was that the artist, having the ascetic ideal to follow, did not get as large a scope to represent the myths of Śiva as he did in the case of Viṣṇu. Śaiva sculptures would, therefore, either represent the god as a great ascetic and give the myths connected with his creative as well as destructive powers, or would tell the popular stories of Śiva or of his consort Pārvatī. Like the ideal *yogin* or ascetic he is represented as wrapped up in meditation, regardless of what was going on around and even forgetful of Pārvatī. Here in the sculptures of the Mahuḍī Gate Śiva is shown as the Creator. These sculptures represent him as Natarāja, the king of dancers and visualise his mystic dance of creation. The god is here shown as setting the whole universe in motion, himself remaining unperturbed. The wild movements of his limbs, the waving of the arms and the legs would give a marked contrast with his serene face. The figure of Pārvatī as sculptured in these figures is too dwarfish compared to that of the god himself. Possibly the sculptor gave her a smaller size in view of his ideas of the greatness of Śiva. This is seen in the case of the representations of other gods and goddesses as well. In the group of these figures we see Gaṇeśa as well as the skeleton form of Bhṛṅgi, the devoted attendant of Śiva. Perhaps Kumāra, the Commander-in-Chief of the gods, is also

1. Adhyāya IV. vv. 23-24.

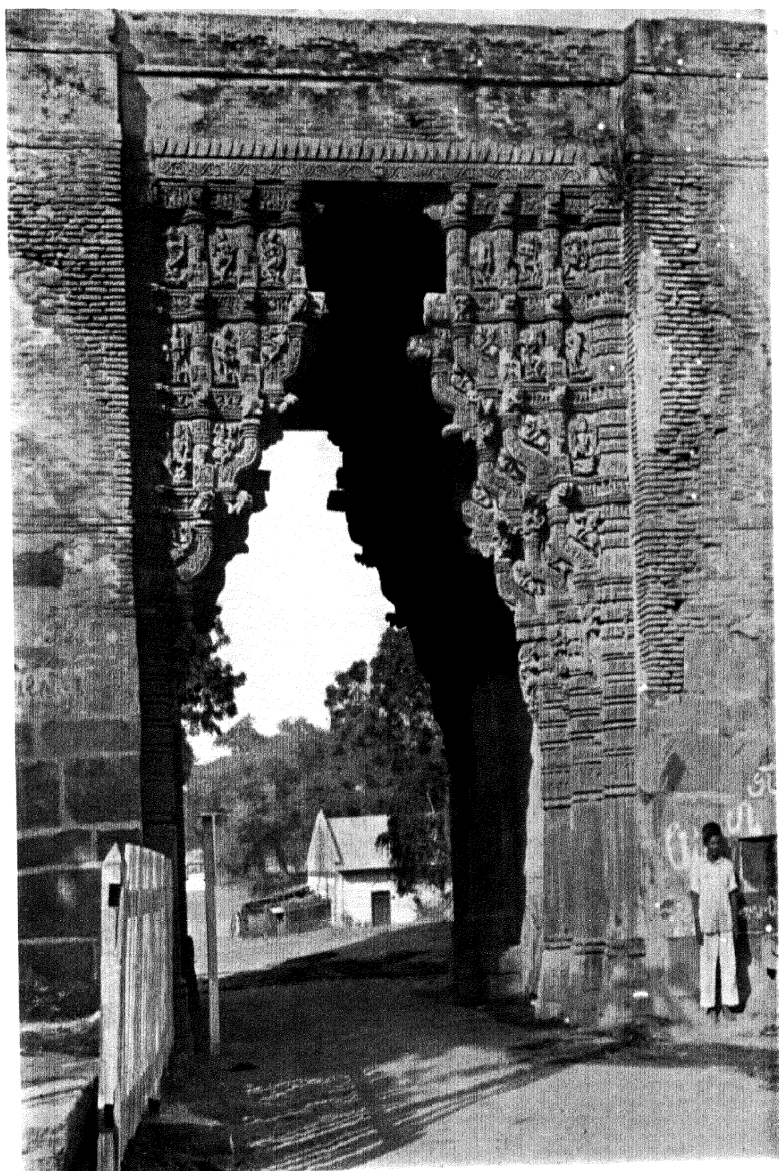
2. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II. Part I, pp. 223 ff.

3. *Guide to Elephanta* p. 17.

present. These sculptures however do not display any special skill such as we find in the works of the Gupta period. All the same they, like those of the Hīrā Gate, speak highly of the sculptor who chiselled them. But they are damaged and their artistry cannot be fully realised. Below the Naṭarāja or Śiva figures, which are carved on the top of the internal walls of the gate, we see the *S'aktis* or goddesses, Brahmāṇī with her *sruc* or ladel, Chāmunda or Kālī, grim and emaciated with hanging breasts and a scorpion on her stomach and standing on a corpse, the *S'aktis* of Gaṇeśa with a mouse close by, as well as, others. Below these goddesses we find male figures, probably, *ṛishis* or saints with labels engraved behind their heads. Whether these labels mark the names of the architects or some dignitaries cannot be decided definitely. One of these names reads Pālhaṇa which reminds us of the Āhlaṇa on the Hīrā Gate and would suggest that some of the figures represent the *sūtradhāras* or masons who built the gate. The labels on the pilasters reading like Sochandā, Vosava, Śrī-Ghama, Vaja and Mahādeva read like the names of *salāṭs* or masons. 'The figures are all male and wear *rudrāksha* beads in their ears, on the necks and the arms, and *Yajñopavītas*. Excepting one, which has a fish behind the head, these figures show snakes round their bodies and canopies of snake-hoods. This would connect them with the cult of Nāgas. They might be the descendants of the Nāgas or the Nāga tribe. But it is only a matter of conjecture at present.

The other, i. e., the Nāndod Gate, which stands to the south of the citadel, had on its inner face above the cornice three large figures of the Hindu triad. One has fallen carrying a portion of the cornice away with it, the remaining two though mutilated are identifiable. One represents Śiva with his vehicle Nandi and the other, Brahmā sitting to the right. The missing figure must be of Viṣṇu, obviously. The Nāndod Gate though somewhat inferior to the Hīrā Gate and the Barodā Gate in minuteness of carving is equally interesting in architectural details. The brackets, the pilasters, and the sculptural peculiarities exhibit great skill of the masons or the architects who built the gate and reflect credit on the authorities who financed the undertakings. Vastupāla and Tejabpāla, the two great financiers of the reign of Vīradhavalā who are praised in the *Sukritisaṃkīrtana* and elsewhere for their liberal patronage of such works, might have helped, of course, with the approval of their liege-lord, the king. That sort of financial help is needed to revive the ancient *śilpa-śāstra* which is now becoming decadent for want of patronage. The photograph reproduced in Plate XVIII will give an idea of the workmanship which is displayed in this gateway.

The walls of the citadel are practically all dismantled except at a few places here and there. They were given over to building contractors for the purpose of obtaining stones for other structures. The colonnade, on the inner side of the walls, that gave shelter during the monsoon of 1775 to Colonel Keating's troops, has mostly disappeared. The west face, and part of the north face, are the least injured and show parts of the original structure with subsequent additions and repairs. The portion of the wall immediately flanking the Barodā Gate is, happily, still fairly intact and endeavours have recently been made to preserve it. The bulging portions have been repaired. The crowning



Barodā Gate, view from east.

Plate XX.



Laabhoi tank with buildings on its banks.

kangūrās have been re-set where necessary. The infilling of bricks has been removed. The roof has been repaired and made waterproof. The steps have also been set right.

As we see from the remains especially at the Barodā Gate, the walls of the citadel were crowned generally with a brick construction raised upon the lower stone masonry, evidently on account of scarcity of stone in Gujarāt.

Of the angle-bastions one is still preserved at the north-west corner of the Railway Station side. The flanking wall has been cut to make an opening for the road leading from the Railway Station to the town. The remaining portion towards the Barodā Gate is being preserved. The bastion has become a religious building now; for the Musalmāns call it Pāñch-bibi-kī-dargāh and aver that five young Muslim maidens are entombed there. In support of their statements they point to a knobbed platform where they are believed to have been entombed.

The Barodā Gate (Plate XIX) in spite of the alterations made during the Muhammadan ascendancy still retains some remarkably good sculptures. In erecting the Saracenic arch fine images have been cut off to accommodate the jambs, and the carving in and between the corbel supports has been ruthlessly and irretrievably spoiled. Therefore the remaining carving and the sculptures left on the gate should be jealously guarded now from further damage.

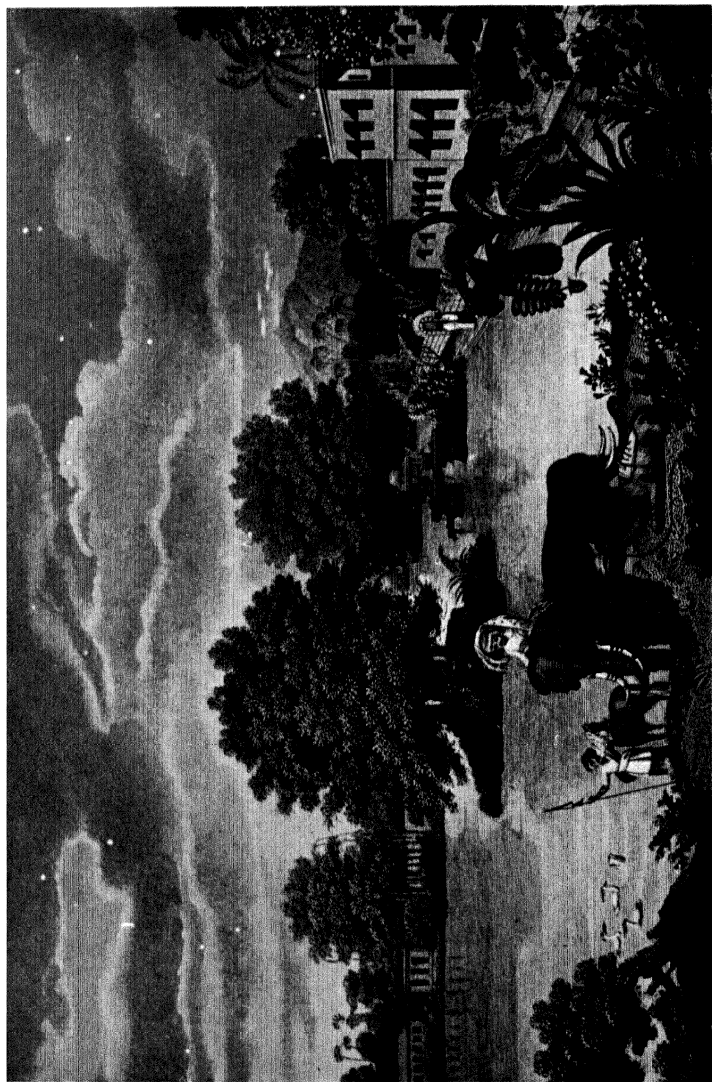
The fortification of the walls was, as indicated by the remains, very simple. "Each of the four sides is relieved at intervals by shallow rectangular bastions, originally fifty-two in number, or the four walls - at distances of about 64 yards apart - by the centre gateway with its outer gate, and by large round corner bastions. Running along the top of the walls are the *kangūrās* or merlons with embrasures or narrow spaces between them. High up upon the inner side and behind these *kangūrās* is a terrace or terreplein, about 8 feet wide, along which the troops of the garrison could move from one part of the walls to another and shoot their arrows from between the *kangūrās*. On the introduction of musketry the embrasures were found to be rather dangerously large, so leaving a few loopholes at intervals, each of these spaces was filled in with masonry. The *kangūrās* upon the walls are a decided improvement in appearance upon the square-cut merlons of western nations, but do not give such an idea of strength and massiveness so necessary in fortifications. Long colonnades beneath the terreplein formed quarters for the soldiers, and there were larger spaces running into the body of the shallow bastions. In each of the four corner bastions is a large circular room, its roof being supported by two concentric rings of pillars. Above this is the bastion platform. The plan of these corner bastions is peculiar. Eight small segments of a large circle are separated from one another by two angles set back into the circle with their points on its circumference; or, in other words, a circle is interrupted at eight different points by pairs of angles inserted with their vertices on the circumference. The bastion is carried up to its full height on this plan. This was subsequently found a weak arrangement when cannon were brought to bear upon it, all these angles and projections being very easily

knocked away, and the spaces between the angles were built up, bringing the plan of the bastion to a circle. Upon these bastions have afterwards been raised twelve-sided brick towers with splayed embrasures for cannon".

Like other old citadels or forts Dabhoi also has a large artificial tank (Plate XX) which is irregular in shape and stands about the middle of the town. This must have been a fine sheet of water and the principal supply for the town during the earlier ages, though there are old wells as well. The tank was fed by the periodical rains but a stone aqueduct communicating with it from outside is believed to have existed for replenishing it with water. People still point out a place whence excess water could escape through a channel to the open country outside the walls. Now the water of this tank is chiefly used for washing dirty clothes and utensils, and heaps of filth are thrown at dry places in the tank. The water has become unhealthy and unfit for drinking consequently.

A large piece of ground is seen jutting into the south side of the tank, almost surrounded by water. On the west side of this ground is a small shrine built in the tank. The floor of the shrine is now several feet below the surface of the water. Probably it was a Śiva temple and contemporaneous with the temple of the Kālikā-mātā near the Hirā Gate. "It consists of a central shrine or small hall with porches on the north and south sides. The east side adjoins the tank from which the shrine is approached through a third entrance. On the west side is a roomy balconied window and seat overlooking the tank. A subterranean passage is still pointed out which was meant for the *Zenana* to worship the deity in *pardah*. The shrine is in a ruinous condition. The ground around might contain ancient remains buried in it."

On the other side of this promontory is a small ruined gateway, looking as if it had been an entrance to a temple courtyard. It is not at all unlikely that the whole of this ground is artificial, and that upon it was a temple or group of temples. It had, for over a hundred and fifty years, held the old Residency and offices, and the two-storeyed house overlooking the tank, in which the late Mr. Forbes lived, still stands there, an interesting building, though now frail and shaky. Forbes says of this place; "The *darbār* or Governor's mansion at Dabhoi, where I resided with its courts and gardens, occupies seven acres. It was almost surrounded by the lake except near the principal gate, communicating with the town; a pavement of large flat stones, admirably united, formed a dry walk at all seasons, above the steps of the tank, shaded in most parts by lofty trees, and adorned with fragrant shrubs; through which only a few houses and towers on the walls were visible; so that from the windows of the *darbār* overlooking the lake, everything had more the appearance of a rural village than a fortified city. To finish this picturesque scene a ruined Hindu temple, nearly covered with moss and the clematis in great variety, terminated the terrace walk in the garden, where the animal creation had hitherto been so unmolested, that my orange and lime trees were filled by peacocks, doves and bulbuls; monkeys and squirrels feasted on my pomegranates and custard apples; while pelicans, spoonbills and other aquatic birds occupied the lake."



The old Durlbar and adjacent scenery at Dabhoi about 1780 A. D.

"The upper terrace of the *darbār* (Plate XXI) overlooked the garden, the lake and all its surrounding embellishments; consisting of rich groves, embowering Hindu temples, Muhammadan mosques, and costly tombs of the principal Musalmāns. Beyond the city walls was seen a landscape replete with populous villages, luxuriant cornfields, herds of oxen, flocks of sheep and goats and a numerous peasantry employed in agriculture; this charming plain was terminated on the north-east by the mountain of Pāvāgaḍh, one of the strongholds of Maratha Empire; of a stupendous height, difficult to ascend, and completely fortified at the summit."

"In the inner court of the *darbār* at Dabhoi, into which my front verandah opened, an altar had been erected under a shady *pīpal* tree (*ficus religiosa*), which I carefully preserved; a hollow cavity on the top contained the *tulsi* (*ocimum*), a sacred plant of the Hindus, to which they frequently resorted; as also to a few of their *dil penates*, which were left in the surrounding niches; it was a scene nearly resembling that of Priam's palace in Troy."

Forbes records a silly legend in connection with this tank to the effect that it was polluted by a Muhammadan whose hands were cut off as punishment by the Hindus for this sacrilege and who died in consequence of this mutilation. His mother-Māmā Dokri is said to be her name-brought a large army from Arabia and got herself avenged before she died in Dabhoi. Her tomb was erected at a distance outside Hīrā Gate and is still preserved. Evidently as Burgess and Cousens have remarked this legend is a sheer fabrication made to consecrate the tomb. According to the Marathi inscription noticed above, it was a Śiva shrine originally.

Turning to the history of the town there is hardly any material available for writing a connected account. That the town was called Darbhavati or Darbhāvati in ancient days and that it existed during the sixth or seventh century of the Christian era we have already seen. We have also noticed that Viśaladeva was born here and to commemorate his birth he probably constructed some shrine or shrines and other buildings in this town. What those buildings were we cannot say with any definiteness. Tradition ascribes the construction of the Hīrā Gate, of the Kālikā-mātā temple and of the Vaidyanātha temple to him. And it is confirmed by the *praśasti* of Someśvara noticed above in detail. The accounts given in the *Vastupālacharita* which was written in Saṃvat 1365 (=1308 A. D.), as has been stated above, would also corroborate it. In all probability the fortification and several other structures of Dabhoi were damaged during subsequent reigns. But early in the 13th century the citadel must have been repaired or re-fortified. The depredations of Ghūghula or Gugul must have compelled Vīradhavalā and his resourceful minister Vastupāla to strengthen Dabhoi. The *Vastupālacharita* is clear on this point. It further shows that some sanctuaries were also constructed along with the fortifications though they do not exist now. The temples of Kālikā-mītā and of Vaidyanātha Mahādeva came into existence during the reign of Viśaladeva about the Vikrama year 1311 when the *praśasti* was set in. Though the town of Darbhāvati is fairly old and was in

existence about the 6th century yet the citadel of Dabhoi seems to have come into existence during the 13th century after Christ when Visaladeva flourished. We do not know how Dabhoi fared during the reign of Visaladeva's son Arjunadeva (1261-1274 A. D.), and grandson Sāraṅgadeva (1274-1296). From a stone inscription of Sāraṅgadeva which is preserved in the State Museum at Baroda and belongs to the year 1348 of the Vikrama era (1291 A. D) we learn that Sāraṅgadeva, who ruled probably from Aṇahilavādā or old Patan, was possibly a successful ruler who could levy poll-tax from the Jains of Pāhlaṇapura (=Pālanpur) for the maintenance of a Viṣṇu temple. Karna, the son of Sāraṅgadeva, came to the throne during the reign of Alāu-d-dīn Khalji, a detailed account of whose invasions is given by Musalmān historians. Inscriptions have also been found in Gujarāt which belong to his reign. Hardly was Karna seated on the *gādi* of Aṇahilavādā when, after basely murdering his uncle Jalālud-dīn Firoz Shāh, he seized the imperial throne of Delhi and sent a large army to ravage Gujarāt. Owing to his rule of terror in Gujarāt, he became known as Khūnī or blood-thirsty. Aṇahilavādā, the capital of Gujarāt, and almost all the fine temples of the idolatrous Hindus were wrecked, plundered and desecrated or disfigured. Oft-repeated expeditions subjugated and laid waste the country. Muhammadan governors were constantly changed and they kept the country in a state of anarchy. Dabhoi must have suffered during the hands of the iconoclasts who invaded Gujarāt. Muzaffar Khān, the last of these governors of Gujarāt, in consequence of the troubles at Delhi, became an independent ruler of Gujarāt and founded the Ahmad Shāh dynasty which ruled over Gujarāt till it was subdued by Akbar in 1572. His reign was marked by toleration and Hindus repaired or rebuilt their sacred places during it. This is proved by the inscriptions found at Dvārakā which are dated in the years when Akbar was ruling. These records would show that the present temple of Dvārakā might have been repaired or reconstructed then. One might infer that Dabhoi did not suffer when that tolerant Mughal was the Emperor of India. It was chiefly in the time of Mahmūd Begadā who died in 1513 A. D. that the Hindu shrines of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād suffered most. Dabhoi could not, obviously, have been spared. Things must have remained chaotic and adverse to the Hindus till 1705 when the Marathas invaded Gujarāt and twice defeated the Musalmāns. In 1707 they made a second inroad but were bought off by a tribute of 2,10,000 Rupees. In 1719, Pilajirao Gaekwad routed the Imperial troops and established himself at Songadh. The fort of Songadh was reconstructed by him as is shown by the following record incised on one of the gateways of the stronghold :-

आ किल्ला पिळाजीराव गायकवाडे १७२२-२९ ईस्वीसन्मां फरीदी बांध्या अने ईस्वीसन १७२९
थी १७६६ सुथी गायकवाडोतुं मुख्य स्थान हतो.

In 1723 he overran the country round Surat, defeated Momin Khān and subdued Gujarāt by imposing a regular tribute on it. Two years later the *Senāpati* Trimbakray Dabhade, the commander of his army, fixed his headquarters at Dabhoi which had remained in the hands of the Musalmāns from the end of the thirteenth century, i. e., from the time of Alāu-d-dīn Khalji. Udāji Pawār also occupied it for some time.

The English documents published in *The Gaekwads of Baroda*¹ inform us that a battle took place between the forces of Peshwa Baji Rao I and *Senāpati* Trimbak Rao Dabhade in which Pilaji Rao Gaekwad was wounded and had to take shelter in the fort of Dabhoi with his two or three thousand men. The information given by these documents is supported by a letter from the Peshwa himself which was published by G. S. Sardesai originally and has been mentioned in the *Later Mughals* by Irvine.² In this letter, the Peshwa says:— "Trimbak Rao Dabhade, Udaji Anand Rao Puar, Kanthaji Raghuji Bande, Pilaji Gaekwar and Chimanaji Dada (*Damodar*) with 30,000 men came to fight me. The battle took place on the 4th Sharwal five kos from Dabhoi. Trimbak and Zavaji Dabhade, Maloji Puar, Pilaji Gaekwad's son (*Sambhuji*)³, in all 14 chiefs, were killed. Udaji Puar (*Jaswant Rao*) Pilaji Gaekwar, and Kumar Bahadur (*Kumar Baga Puar*) fled wounded. Bande fled. Their army was plundered. On our side Narayan Dhandheri was slain." The *Samādhi* of Pilaji Rao's son who lost his life in the encounter stands at Thuāvi and will show that the battle must have taken place at Thuāvi near Dabhoi.⁴ The fight is also called the Battle of Dabhoi and it resulted in the appointment of Pilaji Rao Gaekwad as the *Senāpati* for Gujarāt by the Peshwa in place of Trimbak Rao Dabhade. Pilaji Rao established his son Damaji Rao at Dabhoi and it now continues to be under the rule of the Hindus her original masters. Subsequent troubles were crushed. In 1775 Colonel Keating was sent with a small force to assist Govindrao Gaekwad. In the month of June of that year the British troops had to take shelter during the rains at Dabhoi. James Forbes was with this force. The description of the town he has given would show that he took a fancy to Dabhoi. His account is vivid and might well be quoted below:—

"The remains of its fortifications, gates and temples indicate great
magnificence. The temple near the east gate, called the
Forbes' account of Gate of Diamonds, a work of immense labour and expense
Dabhoi. must have employed a number of artificers for many years.

The city is nearly quadrangular exceeding two miles in circumference; such parts of the fortifications as remain entire are of large hewn stones and the interior colonnade is a beautiful and useful work; within the walls is a large tank, surrounded by strong masonry, with a grand flight of steps, the whole extent descending to the water from the Hindu temples, chattries and solemn gories which border this beautiful reservoir.

"It is now chiefly inhabited by Hindus; a few Muhammadan families are permitted to reside there, on condition of not eating beef. The Pandit or governor, appointed by the ministers at Puna, submitted to Rāghobā, and on our approach acknowledged him as Peshwā of the Maratha Empire; he immediately levied a contribution of three lakhs of rupees from the inhabitants, which they were unwilling and almost unable to pay; for, although some cotton manufactures are carried on there Dabhoi and its dependencies are poor."

1. Vol. I, ed. J. H. Gense, S. J. and D. R. Banaji, pp. 10 f.

2. *Ibid.* p. 11 fn. 2.

3. *A Chronicle of the Gaekwads of Baroda* 1933, p. 7, calls him Sayaji Bava.

4. *Ibid.* p. 28.

"The *darbār* and a few of the principal houses were well-built, and the streets generally broad and airy: many acres within the walls were cultivated, and produced abundant crops of corn and vegetables; the city contained about forty thousand inhabitants, and nearly as many monkeys, which occupied the roofs of the houses or enjoyed the shade of the mango and tamarind trees with the peacocks, squirrels, and green pigeons, that live there as unmolested by the Hindus as if in the midst of a forest, pelicans, wild ducks, adjutant birds, and a variety of water fowl animate the beautiful lakes adorned by the nymphae and many aquatic plants."

The English troops left Dabhoi before the close of the rains and the citadel was then garrisoned by 2000 of the Peshwa's forces, when the second Maratha war broke out in 1779. Colonel Goddard made a rapid movement on Dabhoi and took it. Forbes was placed in charge of Dabhoi and the surrounding district as Collector. Scindia threatened to attack it but his attempts were foiled. Thereafter Forbes got the fortifications repaired and governed the place without any trouble. He stayed here for three years and his efficient administration led the people to enjoy security. British rule had made them happy the more so because the troublesome days through which they had to pass were over and they could live in peace. In the year 1783 Bharoch, Dabhoi, Sinor and other districts were restored to the Marathas and Forbes had to leave Dabhoi which he began to love so much. On leaving it he expressed his feelings in the following verse¹ which he composed and which give expression to the effusion of a heart contending with many mingled sensations arising from his peculiar situation:—

"Dhuboy, farewell ! farewell ye ancient towers,
Ye peaceful lakes, ye consecrated bowers !
Where studious brahmins, skill'd in mystic lore,
Avatars, Vedas, Manu's laws explore:
Where pious priests attend on Vishnoo's shrine
And ruthless Seeva claims the right divine ;
While Brahma's choral songs are heard no more;
Too great a god for mortals to adore.

.....
.....

How short our triumph o'er this wide domain
No honour'd vestige of our wars remain.
From Ahmed's splendid fanes and regal bow'rs,
To towns far distant on the Concan shores.
This specious tract obey'd our mild command,
And British freedom bless'd a grateful land.

1. *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. 3. pp. 372. ff.

O sad reverse! these fair luxuriant plains,
 Where Nature smiles, and golden Plenty reigns,
 Where numerous flocks and herds adorn the meads,
 And fruitful harvests wave their varied heads;
 Where Nerbudda, majestic, rolls her tide,
 And streams of lesser note pellucid glide;
 Where stately castles, royal cities rise,
 And fanes and Minars glad the pilgrim's eyes;
 Where cheerful villages, and groves serene,
 In beauty deck the bright expansive scene;
 All these must feel Oppression's iron rod,
 And bow, reluctant, to a tyrant's nod:
 A stern Mahratta's power too soon must own,
 And freedom quit her Asiatic throne;
 Your haughty rulers now again return,
 Towns, cities, villages, —submissive, mourn!
 Mourn for those blessings of so short a date;
 For Scindia, Malwa's chief, has seal'd your fate !

Oppression ! mighty foe of human kind !
 Thy cruel deeds to darkness are confin'd:
 No sun—beams play around thy gloomy form,
 No council wise averts the gathering storm :
 Thy giant arms extend a lengthen'd chain,
 And captive nations feel its rankling pain:
 Before thy lurid glare their courage dies,
 And Hope expiring seeks her native skies:
 Thy breath destroys the fairest fruits on earth,
 And Nature's tears bewail thy direful birth.
 Thy stature grew to more than mortal height,
 And seem'd to blot the radiant source of light;
 For where thou dwell'st is still a dreadful night.
 But when the day—star from on high appears,
 Thy reign shall vanish, and thy victims' fears;
 Thy adamant chains shall waste away,
 And Liberty restore her cloudless day.

Ye bhauts! the oral bards of Indian climes,
 Like Europe's minstrels in the feudal time,
 'Tis yours to praise the chieftain's mighty deed,
 And give the hero glory's deathless meed;
 'Tis yours to raise, or melt, the human heart,
 By all the fervours of the tuneful art;
 'Tis yours to fill the void of History's page,
 And thus immortalize the passing age:
 'Tis yours to blow the golden trump of fame,
 And twine the laurel round each honour'd name.

Ah ! when you chant the legendary tale,
 In crowded cities, or the rural vale,
 How will you mourn fair Freedom's transient reign !
 Whilst list'ning tribes lament the dirgeful strain !
 Lament her blessings wither'd in their bloom,
 And nations suffering in her hasty doom !
 When you relate, with strict historic truth,
 These changing scenes, familiar to your youth,
 The wondering crowd will scarce believe a theme,
 Fill'd with events that seem a passing dream.

But, rapt in visions of prophetic joy,
 What bright'ning days in prospect you descry !
 When clouds are vanish'd, and the sun appears
 Resplendent, midst a nation's gloomy fears;
 When Freedom's voice shall hail your native land,
 And bear again the olive in her hand;
 When she shall break the cruel tyrant's rod,
 And, first of blessings! shew the path to God !
 When she shall leave Hindostan's realms no more,
 But ransom'd hope, and promised bliss restore !—
 Prophetic bards! these lofty visions sing,
 And Liberty from rising joy shall spring:
 The captive shall forget his ponderous chain,
 And join in chours with the rapturous strain.

Duboy, farewell! thy gloomy change so near,
 For thee I drop the sympathetic tear !
 For thee I supplicate in silent pray'r,
 That thou ere long these heavenly gifts may share !

The following account of Forbes' departure from Dabhoi given in the said *Memoris*¹ will give an idea of the insecurity of human life in those days, and make a marked contrast with the peace and calm enjoyed by the people at the present time. "On the arrival of my palanquin and effects at the grove, I placed them under the care of the cavalry officer, and eighteen armed horsemen; and with the other six, the Bhaut security on horseback, and a little favourite slave boy behind the carriage, I commenced my journey with full four hours day-light before us. I had previously sent off relays of bullocks; and travelling in a light hackaree, at the rate of five miles an hour, I passed through the wild country about sun-set, at least three hours sooner than usual. Not meeting with any molestation from the *gracias*, and concluding the brahmins had been misinformed, I dismissed the Bhaut, stopped a few hours to rest my people at the entrance of the Baroche purgunna, and reached home in safety early the next morning, where I related the late events at Dhuboy, and especially the prognostics of the brahmins respecting the *Gracias*, as totally without foundation. But when some

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 376-379.

hours had elapsed, without tidings of my servants and effects, nor the appearance of a horseman, I became alarmed. My suspense was not of long duration, for on looking anxiously towards the road, I saw a sort of funeral procession moving towards our garden-house, accompanied by the yells of female mourners, more dismal than any I had ever heard. It consisted of a mingled group of Mahomedans, Hindoos, and Parsees, a sight very unusual at an Indian funeral. There was a Mahomedan mosque and burying-ground near our villa, which they passed, and moved on immediately towards the garden gate. We now distinguished several different biers; on the foremost lay the headless body of my cavalry officer, followed by the violent exclamations of Mahomedan women. Another set brought the dead body of a Parsee servant, almost cut to pieces: others carried dead and wounded Hindoos of different descriptions, on the village cots. These they placed in the garden under our front veranda, and immediately renewed their dreadful lamentations.

When we could obtain silence, I learnt from the survivors, that about an hour after I crossed the bed of the river, my people and effects arrived at the fatal spot, where they were suddenly surrounded by upwards of three hundred armed Gracías, on horseback, and four hundred on foot, who immediately attacked my small party with the most savage barbarity, cut down the cavalry officer, killed a Parsee servant and several of my attendants, and wounded many more. Elated with this success, and intoxicated by opium and bhang, their ferocious chieftains called loudly for the English sirdar, vehemently demanding when I should arrive from Dhuboy. My faithful people told them I had passed long before, and was then in the Baroche purgunna, far beyond their reach; although, travelling at the slow pace of oxen, I could not have been three miles distant. Thus disappointed, they renewed their insults, and frantic with bhang, committed further cruelty before they decamped with their plunder, consisting of horses, arms, my palanquin, sword, and some valuable effects; leaving the dead and wounded men on the spot, where they had fallen a sacrifice themselves, but would not betray their master.

The sight of the dead bodies and the accompanying lamentations, announced the first tidings of this fatal catastrophe. I have no language to express my feelings on this occasion. Tacitus, eminent for sublime conceptions and pathetic description, aids my recollection by a scene of far greater importance.

'Non tumultus, non quies; sed quale magni metus, et magnæ iræ, silentium est.'

'It was not a tumult, it was not quietness; it was the silence of terror, and of indignation.'

Tacitus.

I find it equally difficult to mention my own providential deliverance. The Gracias not pursuing me seems so very extraordinary, that, among some other remarkable events of my life, I can, (without referring to second causes or intermediate agency) only ascribe it to that Protecting Arm which 'is about our path and about our bed; for in the way wherein I walked they had privily laid a snare for me: I might have looked on my right hand and on my left, but I had no place to flee unto, no man to care for my soul!'" "

Verily the foregoing account when read, especially in front of the splendid remains described in it, will make us reflect that the flourishing Dabhoi of Visaladeva has indeed become a "*Darbhavati*" and forcefully remind us of the following *rubaiyât* of Omar Khayyâm:—

"The Worldly Hope men set their Hearts upon
Turns Ashes – or it prospers, and anon,
Like Snow upon the Desert's dusty Face,
Lighting a Little Hour or two – is gone.

Think! in this battered Caravanserai
Whose Doorways are alternate Night & Day,
How Sulṭān after Sulṭān with his Pomp
Abode his Hour or two, and went his way."

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